

# MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

APR 23 1951

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# MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

A Monthly Publication with intermission from July to October (inclusive)

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for the United States and Mexico and \$5.50 for other countries  
included in the Postal Union. Single issues, price seventy-five cents.

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# Modern Language Notes

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Volume LXVI

APRIL, 1951

Number 4

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## ARNO HOLZ' *DIE KUNST* AND THE PROBLEM OF "ISMS"

Arno Holz is usually considered the chief contributor to that theory of art which represents the German conception of what Naturalism should be. He owes this reputation in part to the fact that Gerhart Hauptmann, in dedicating his first naturalistic drama *Vor Sonnenaufgang* to Holz, refers to him as *den konsequentesten Realisten* (i. e. naturalist; for in those early days the new movement was more commonly termed realism than naturalism). Furthermore, when Holz two years later, in 1891, published his main theoretical work *Die Kunst: ihr Wesen und ihre Gesetze*,<sup>1</sup> he furnished the naturalists with a handy formula, which they claimed as particularly applicable to their art form, and as so intended by Holz.

It is the views expressed in this work on art that I will attempt to analyze in this paper.

It is natural for the reader to approach this work with preconceived notions. We have already heard the author referred to as the most consistent naturalist. We know also that he was at that time intimately associated with Gerhart Hauptmann and other naturalists. And we shall see that the basic law of art as formulated by him sounds, at least on first hearing, like a variation or at most modification of the famous *coin de la nature* formula of the foremost French naturalist, Émile Zola. And yet, when we come to study the book in more detail, we begin to wonder to what extent the author's views are actually in harmony with the German naturalistic practice of that time. We now notice that the title

<sup>1</sup> Berlin, Wilhelm Issleib (Gustav Schuhr), 1891; *Neue Folge* 1893. In our page references, the original work is designated as I, *Neue Folge* as II.

reads *Die Kunst*, not *Die Kunst des Naturalismus*. Also the much- (often too glibly) quoted formula it contains proves capable, in the final analysis, of more than one interpretation.

Holz begins by telling us in some detail by what stages he has arrived at his present views on the artistic process. His first products as a creative writer were lyrics, in which he appears as a poet of the industrial scene; in other words, a modernist from the point of view of content. From the formal side, however, these poems present nothing new. At a later stage he discards rhyme. Next, he undertakes a prose work, an autobiographical novel entitled *Goldene Zeiten*. After having written a few pages, it suddenly strikes him that one passage pleases him far more than all the rest. He has a hunch that, if he can discover why, he will have learned an important secret in the art of writing. He has just described the house in which he lived as a boy, with its moss-covered roof. Here the novel continues:

"Er entsann sich, als kleiner Junge irgendeinmal gehört zu haben, dass dies eigentlich nur in Holland so Mode sei. In Holland! Was das für ein wunderbares Land sein musste! Sein kleiner Krauskopf schwelgte sich in die abenteuerlichsten Vorstellungen hinein. Nur schwer konnte er später, als er die Bänke der Sexta blank scheuern half, begreifen, wie ein Mann vom Schlage Alexanders des Grossen . . . sich für ein Land wie dieses Indien begeistern konnte. In Holland mussten die Paradiesvögel entschieden schöner pfeifen und die Johannisbrodbäume noch viel, viel wilder wachsen!" (I, 54).

Here we have the passage that struck Holz as far more effective than all the rest: "In Holland mussten die Paradiesvögel entschieden schöner pfeifen und die Johannisbrodbäume noch viel, viel wilder wachsen!" Now, it is on this passage that Holz first tested the validity of Zola's definition of the new work of art as "*un coin de la nature vu à travers un tempérament!*" Without going into it more deeply at this point, let me just call attention to this Holland with birds of paradise rather than frogs, the proverbial Dutch nightingales, and carob trees with their exotic fruit rather than cropped willows. Is this a typical sample of naturalism? Holz, however, never seems to doubt that this Holland is also *un coin de la nature*, but pounces on the fact that it is not *vu à travers son tempérament*. Indeed, he finds that his present critical temperament is reflected precisely in those passages which strike him as not nearly so good. Judging by this passage, then, it would be

far better to abandon the rather superior attitude of smiling indulgence with which he has been reviewing his boyhood thus far, and instead identify himself fully with the extravagant fancies of the boy he was then, allowing these to express themselves in their own natural rhythm. In other words, to allow himself to be determined rather than to determine, both in content and form. One may agree with Holz in this matter, and still insist that his "Holland" was undeniably seen through a temperament—that of his youthful self, which just now briefly reasserted itself and made him shape the passage as he did.

Holz' preoccupation at this stage not only with Zola, but also Ibsen, Tolstoi, and other naturalists, is so typical of the live minds of his generation, that this brief mention may suffice. And that this shift "away from classicism and romanticism," in form as in content, had been the result of much inner conflict is equally typical.

For a time, Holz continues, he now concentrated entirely on theoretical problems. In Paris he studies French naturalistic theory, particularly Zola and Taine. He becomes especially critical of Zola's notion, borrowed from Taine, who in turn had inherited it from the theorists of the past, that art must not strive for exact reproduction of nature. Under the influence of the deterministic thought of his century, which conceives even human activity as completely under the sway of natural law, he launches upon a search for the basic law to which all artistic functioning worthy of the name is subject. He is aided materially in this search by his well-known experiments with naturalistic prose in *Papa Hamlet* and other sketches finished by 1888, and the drama *Die Familie Selicke* of 1890, joint products these of Holz and his friend Johannes Schlaf.

Holz arrives at his basic law by the inductive process. If all art is subject to this law, he reasons, I have only to select one instance of creative activity, and this, correctly analyzed, will yield the law just as surely as a study of no matter how many instances. Since, however, the term *art* is frequently used in a loose and uncritical way, it seems advisable to choose an example from the realm of pictorial art. No one, he argues, has ever objected to regarding *its* products as art, and no one can therefore object to my using it as the basis of my induction. Or isn't it true that even the crudest,

most prehistoric drawing on the wall of a cave is acknowledged to be a product of art?

To select a great painting, however, soon proved to be inadvisable, for causal laws never come to full expression, counteracted as they invariably are by many factors representing other laws equally causal. This applies even in natural science, where the law of gravity, for instance, fails to exhibit its consequences fully since any experiment will have to reckon with complications, such as the effects of friction, never completely to be eliminated by attempts to create a vacuum; this friction, then, represents an additional law, which prevents the law of gravitation from manifesting itself clearly and unambiguously.

To avoid such complications as far as possible, then, Holz selects as his sample of artistic activity the slate drawing of a soldier, perpetrated by a little boy—as primitive and simple an *opus* as one could wish. Fortunately the little sinner is there to tell him that this is “ein Suldat.” And really, on second view, so it is! Of course, this lump here, dictated by strict observation of nature, is his belly; this rat-tail his sabre; this mutilated match stick his rifle. It is indeed a soldier of a second order. But what a tremendous chasm yawns between this soldier no. 2 and his model, no. 1, between *Suldat* and *Soldat*! Let's not be pedantic, let us throttle our critical selves, and merely point out that this soldier has been done out of one of his dimensions, no less, and that he is now but the grey phantom of his colorful self.

From these observations, then, Holz arrives at the formula:  $Suldat = Soldat - x$ , or  $Art = Nature - x$ . Next, he discovers that this discrepancy between nature and art, this  $x$ , is due: 1. to the limitations of the artistic medium which the boy had at his disposal: the black slate surface and the slate pencil, with which he could produce only one color, etc.; and 2. to his manner of handling his medium, the result, in part, of lack of skill—but, in the case of superior works of art, of many other factors besides, as we shall see later.

Holz now formulates his basic law, thus: *Die Kunst hat die Tendenz, wieder die Natur zu sein. Sie wird sie nach Massgabe ihrer jeweiligen Reproduktionsbedingungen und deren Handhabung.* (I, 117).

Let us discuss this formula, which has exerted so profound an

influence on German naturalism, in some detail. It presents some difficulties of interpretation.

To begin with a minor obscurity: That art *tends* to be nature over again seems, upon a moment's reflection, clear enough. Holz has already shown that it never does, that it always represents Nature—x, if it were only for the reason that its basic law is always counteracted by many others.

A second point, also perhaps minor, is the peculiar wording: . . . die Tendenz, wieder die Natur zu sein. In the *Neue Folge*, which deals almost entirely with certain criticisms levelled against the book by the reviewer Carl Erdmann, Holz fails to answer Erdmann's suggestion that it would have been better to have said: Art tends to *appear like* Nature. We in turn may ask: "Why not: Art tends to *reproduce* Nature?" It may be that Holz, who is fond of enlarging upon certain mysterious laws, which force the artist, even against his will so to speak, to express himself in this form rather than that, was afraid that words like *reproduce* would suggest too conscious a procedure on the part of the artist. Yet he continues: It becomes Nature as far as its means of *reproduction* and the handling of these permit. The more likely reason, it seems to me, is that he felt *reproduce* to be too weak a term: . . . *wieder die Natur zu sein* is perhaps a bit awkward, but it is more absolute.

That the basic law is partially thwarted by the "*jedweiligen Reproduktionsbedingungen*" obviously means that the medium of the painter inevitably involves, among other things, a reduction of nature to a two-dimensional affair; the medium of the sculptor involves, to mention only this, a reduction of living flesh to cold marble; and those who speak so glibly of the exact reproduction of nature in certain poems or passages of descriptive prose would do well to ponder how far a *verbal* reproduction of a landscape can be considered a reproduction at all.

Next we must ask: What limitations are imposed upon the reproduction of nature by the *handling of the means of reproduction*? Holz' critic Erdmann takes for granted that the author had in mind a lack of skill in the manipulation of the medium. Holz answers that this is only one of a vast number of factors which may affect the handling of the means of reproduction. And although, strangely enough, he does not give any illustrations, this seems clear enough, if we consider, to mention only one example, that the



handling of rhythm in poetry may be rendered unnatural by the too mechanical imposition of the conventional forms of metre. Yet there are periods in which every poet will violate the principle of organic rhythm in this fashion: in the pseudo-classic era, for instance, metrical regularity was universally accepted as a law of poetry which it was sacrilegious to disobey. In other words, the more skillful the formalistic poet was in the handling of his metrical medium, the more he defeated the basic law.

We now come to the word *Natur* in our formula—and this, I believe, has caused more misunderstanding than anything else. Why? Well, for one thing, the majority of the naturalistic writers in the creative realm had been, quite one-sidedly, interested in nature in its more external sense. Now, since we associate this peculiarity with naturalism, and since we assume, rightly or wrongly, that Holz had the same bias, we tend automatically to interpret the word *Nature* in his formula as most naturalists did. Also, no doubt, because the "work of art" which Holz happened to select as the basis for his investigation, the slate drawing, derived its subject matter from the spatial world.

In a sense, though, this one-sided interpretation of the word *nature* is non-naturalistic. It is a vestige of the dualistic world view, and as such has no validity for the thinking of the age of natural science. From *its* point of view simply everything is nature in the final analysis—including man and his products, be they physical, mental, or spiritual. From this angle even his hallucinations and delusions are nature. Indeed, since Kant every German intellectual was, or should have been aware that even what the naïve realist regards as "external" nature is, as object of consciousness, actually very much the same *kind of nature* as "inner experience"—in other words, all experience is by its very essence internal, and *Natur an sich* is forever beyond us.

Now it seems to me that Holz was much more aware of all this than most of his critics believe. When I first read the book under discussion, expecting to find the really rather inane thinking with which most of our literary historians credit the naturalists, I was struck by some apparent incongruities. For instance, the passage with the Dutch birds of paradise, which gave the initial impulse to Holz' investigation, impressed me as quite romantic—not at all "naturalistic." And yet, it struck Holz as superior to the rest.

Another illustration he uses involves a Greek Faun in marble and

a mediaeval Saint (II, 54 ff). To the benighted naïve realist, and to some literary historians, the Saint, of course, is part of nature, the Faun is not. Yet in Holz' opinion the Faun comes nearer to fulfilling his law of art than the Saint. And, since his illustrations are so few in number, *we must assume that he chose them very carefully*. I remember only one illustration that seems to be of the type a naturalist in the popular sense would be expected to select: the slate drawing of the soldier. But Holz must have selected this for its simplicity, not for its subject matter.

Superficially, then, both his exotic Holland and his Faun struck me at first as romantic rather than anything else. From one point of view, however, they *could* be called naturalistic: the Holland passage as a true-to-life reproduction of the very "real" fancies of the boy—the Faun as the most perfect embodiment of the fancy of the Greek sculptor. Doesn't it begin to appear as if Holz' Nature is "of the mind," even beyond the sense in which Kant's Nature is a mental object?

There are other arguments in support of this view. It has been shown that, if we take the word *nature* in its more inclusive sense, it becomes difficult to distinguish between naturalism and romanticism—and, we may safely add, most other *isms* in the realm of art. Well, Holz repeatedly expresses his indifference to distinctions of this kind.

The argument from the title—*Art*, not *Naturalistic Art*—is not as conclusive as it may seem at first sight. For it is conceivable that a naturalist in the popular sense might use such a title and still have naturalistic art in mind, as an ideal, say, toward which art has been, and is still, evolving. The argument, however, adds its weight to the others.

Eminently readable as the book is, it must be admitted, I think, that a good deal of misunderstanding might have been avoided if Holz had explained his views more fully. He even passes up some real opportunities for doing just this. For example, in referring to Proudhon's suggestion that the tendency of art must not be to resemble a photograph, he contents himself with calling this observation *ein köstliches Cretinismus'chen*, and remarks in effect: "It would really be too silly to answer it." Passages in which he really commits himself in so many words as to what he may be thinking of when he says *nature* are rare indeed. In one of these he asserts that his formula holds good even for an old Japanese idol (II, 71).

No less thought-provoking are his answers to two critical comments of the reviewer Erdmann. One of these is in effect that Holz' formula does not even apply to *consistent* naturalism. Our author replies to this in part: "Als Theoretiker stehe ich weder auf dem Boden des 'Realismus,' noch des 'Naturalismus,' noch sonst eines Ismus." (II, 44). His answer to another comment of Erdmann's is even more striking: "... Ich begreife garnicht: Inwiefern reproducirt die Musik weniger die Natur, als etwa—meinetwegen—schön, nehmen wir sogar als Beispiel die Malerei? Etwa weil sie keine Sonnenuntergänge giebt? Nein! Sicher! Die giebt sie nicht! Denn sie verfügt nicht über Farben. Aber ist denn, frage ich, die Empfindung, die ein Sonnenuntergang in mir wachruft, kein Naturvorgang?" (II, 42 f).

Would it be really forcing things to ask: how far is such a point of view removed from the "naturalism" of many a "romantic" or "classic" artist?

PAUL SCHROEDER

University of Colorado

#### RICHARD MAIDSTONE'S VERSION OF THE FIFTY-FIRST PSALM

Richard Maidstone's version of the fifty-first *Psalm* (Vulgate, fiftieth *Psalm*) appears independently of the other six *Penitential Psalms* in the following manuscripts: <sup>1</sup>

Bod<sup>1</sup> Bodl. 3938, fol. 114<sup>a</sup> (Col. 1) (vv. 1-22 wanting) <sup>2</sup>

Bod<sup>2</sup> Bodl. 21715, fol. 145<sup>b</sup> (formerly Douce 141)

Camb. Camb. Un. Dd 1.1, fol. 226<sup>a</sup>

B. M. B. M. Addit. 10036, fol. 96<sup>b</sup> <sup>3</sup>

Adv. Advocates 19.3.1, fols. 97, 87-89<sup>a</sup>

Some time before his death, the late Professor Carleton Brown turned over to me in the hope that I would prepare it for publica-

<sup>1</sup> Carleton Brown and Rossell H. Robbins, *The Index of Middle English Verse*, New York, The Index Society, 1943. See Number 2157.

<sup>2</sup> Edited by C. Horstmann, *The Minor Poems of the Vernon Manuscript*, Part I, London, E. E. T. S., Original Series, 98, 1892, p. 12 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Edited by F. J. Furnivall, *Political, Religious, and Love Poems*, London, E. E. T. S., 15, 1866; re-edited 1903, pp. 279-85.

tion his transcription of the text in Bod<sup>2</sup> which is here presented as a hitherto unprinted text.

To Richard Maidstone is also ascribed the authorship of a metrical rendering of all seven of the *Penitential Psalms* which appears in a large number of manuscripts<sup>4</sup> in two forms—one with an introductory stanza and the other without the introductory stanza. In the listing of the manuscripts of these texts in Carleton Brown's *Register of Middle English Religious and Didactic Verse* and in Brown and Robbins' *Index*, there are several errors which I take this opportunity to correct. Under Number 2421 in the *Register* and Number 3755 in the *Index*, MSS Bodl. 6922, Royal 17 C xvii, and B. M. Addit. 36523 should be deleted because they contain the text without the introduction;<sup>5</sup> these three manuscripts are correctly listed with the manuscripts containing the text without the introduction under Number 1215 in the *Register* and Number 1961 in the *Index*. Here, however, both the *Register* and the *Index* fail to list the edition of the text in MS Bodl. 6922 by Adler and Kaluza.<sup>6</sup> The deletion of the three manuscripts from *Register* Number 2421 and *Index* Number 3755 will remove the erroneous fol. 80<sup>a</sup> listed for MS Royal 17 C xvii; this folio number is correctly given as 83<sup>a</sup> under Numbers 1215 and 1961 in the *Register* and *Index* respectively. In addition, Curt F. Bühler has corrected the *Register's* and the *Index's* listing of the Morgan MS as well as their erroneous statement that the Trinity College, Dublin MS 156 is the basis of the Kelmscott edition of the *Psalmi Penitentiales*.<sup>7</sup> This error, however, appears again in the Second Supplement to Wells' *Manual of the Writings in Middle English*.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>4</sup> For a listing of the manuscript, see Brown and Robbins, *op. cit.*, Numbers 3755 and 1961. For a discussion of the manuscripts, see Mabel Day, *The Wheatley Manuscript*, E. E. T. S., Original Series, 155, 1921 (for 1917), pp. xii-xviii.

<sup>5</sup> The text with the introduction begins, "To goddis worschipe þat dere us bouzte / To whom . . ." (*Register*, Number 2421; *Index*, Number 3755); the text without the introduction begins, "Lord in thyne anger vptake me nouzt / and in þi wraþ . . ." (*Register*, Number 1215; *Index*, Number 1961). Cf. the incipits of MS Bodl. 6922: "Lord in thyne anger vptake me nouzt" (*Register*, I, p. 76); MS Royal 17 C xvii: "Lord in þi anger vbbayrd me noght" (*Register*, I, p. 366); and MS B. M. Addit. 36523: "Lorde in þin anger vptake me noght" (*Register*, I, p. 413).

<sup>6</sup> *Englische Studien*, x, 232 ff.

<sup>7</sup> "The Kelmscott Edition of the *Psalmi Penitentiales* and Morgan MS 99," *MLN*, LX, 16-17.

<sup>8</sup> P. 1124.

Linguistically, the text presented here offers points of interest. Among a large number of Midland forms appear such Southern forms as "beþ" (1. 9); "wasche" (1. 17); "gult" (11. 69 and 75) and "kudde" (1. 94), both of which might also be West Midland; "bleche" (1. 109); "Vsiþ" (1. 145); and "cherche" (1. 148) together with such Northern forms as "na" (1. 8); "clef" (1. 21); "ageyne" (1. 26); and "byseke" (1. 68). In addition, "mechel" (1. 2) is probably Kentish. This mixture of dialects would suggest that the scribe was using as his source an impure text whose basic dialect differed from his own.

THOMAS MAIDSTONE'S PARAPHRASE OF THE FIFTY-FIRST PSALM

Fol. 145<sup>b</sup> *Miserere mei deus secundum magnam misericordiam tuam*

Mercy god of my mysdede	
Vp þi mercy þat mechel is	
Lat þi pyte sprynge and sprede	
Of þi mercy þat y nouȝt mys	
After gostly grace I grede	5
Now dere god þou graunte þis	
þat I may þe loue and drede	
And neuer eft do na more amys	

*Et secundum multitudinem miserationum tuarum  
dele iniquitatem meam*

And after þi mercyes þat beþ fele	
Lord fordo my wikkednesse	10
And help me forto hyde and hele	
þe blame of my broþelnesse	
Ȝyf eny fendes wil me stele	
Out of þe cloþes of clenness	
Wisse þou me in wo and wele	15
And kepe me fro vnkyndenesse	

*Amplius laua me ab iniquitate mea  
et a peccato meo munda me*

More ouer wasche me fro my synne	
And fro my fylþe þou clense me	
Enserche my soule boþe out and ynne	
þat hit na more desoyled be	20
And as þyn herte clef atwyne	
Wiþ delful deþe on rode tre	
Ne let me neuer worke bygynne	
Lord bot ȝif hit lyke þe	



*Quoniam iniquitatem meam ego cognosco  
et peccatum meum contra me est semper*

Fol. 146<sup>a</sup>

For al my wikkednesse I am aknowe 25  
And synne is euer me ageyne  
Perfor let þi grace growe  
Ihesu þat were wyþ Iewes sleyne  
Riche and pore boþe hey3e and lowe  
Smale and grete I am certeyn 30  
At domes day whan þou schalt blowe  
Of þi mercy schul be ful fayn

*Tibi soli peccaui et malum coram te feci ut  
iustificeris in sermonibus tuis et uincas cum iudicaris*

To þe only trespassed haue I  
Wrou3t wykkedly a3en þy glorie 35  
Wyþ wordes and wyþ trecheri  
Þou demest ry3t and last victorie  
Per for þi blisse now byseche I  
ffor told hit is in many a storie  
Pat who so crye to þe mercy  
He is ende les in þi memorie 40

*Ecce enim in iniquitatibus conceptus sum et  
in peccatis concepit me mater mea*

By hold how in synne I was conceyued  
Of my moder as men ben alle  
And of my fader nou3t receyued  
W<sup>t</sup> flesche ful frele and fayn to falle  
Bot seþþe þi flesche lord was parceyued 45  
And for our sake strau3t on stalle  
Was neuer synful man desseyued  
Pat wolde to þi mercy calle

*Ecce enim veritatem dilexisti incerta et occulta  
sapientie tue manifestasti michi*

Lord for þou hast loued ry3t  
Pe pryuey conseyl of þi wit 50  
Þou hast yschewed þoru3 þi my3t  
Two kyndes ben to gedre kny3t  
Þral is fre and knaue is ~~knaue~~ (sic) kny3t  
God is man as gospel writ  
And 3if my soule in perel be py3t 55  
Mercy god and help þou hit

Asperges me domine ysopo *et* mundabor lauabis  
me *et* super niuem dealbabor

Fol. 146 <sup>b</sup>	Wiþ holy water þou schalt me sprynke And as þe snow yschal be white ffor þou3 my soule in synne synke Wiþ wepyng water I may be quit Dedly draugtes þou3 I drynke Of repentaunce 3if me respit ffor on þi peynes who so þenke In wordeles wele is non delit	60
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Auditui meo dabis gaudium *et* leticiam  
*et* exultabunt ossa humiliata

To my heryng þou schalt zeue Gladnes to glade goode and meke In lownesse lerne me to lene Leue lord I þe byseke Þe þeues gult þat was forjeue In rode tre his bones breke A sorful herte and clene yschreue Saueþ soule and body eke	65       70
---	----------------------------------

Auerte faciem tuam a peccatis meis  
*et* omnes iniquitates meas dele

ffro my synnes þu turne þi face Put al my wykkednes away Grete is my gult grettur þi grace And elles fayleþ al our fay Synnes fele þat me deface Maken þat I ne may no3t say Bot mercy god of my tresp* I wot þer is non oþer way	75      80
--	------------------------------

Cor mundum crea in me deus *et*  
Spiritus rectum innoua in uisceribus meis

Make in me god myn herte clene Þat ry3tful gost in me þou newe ffro seuene synnes þou make þat clene Wher þou go y may þe sewe Als þou war turment for tene Þi bodi blak þi bones blewe Mekful lord þu make sene Wiþ inne myn hert þat hidows hewe	85
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\* The scribe had written here "ses" and then erased but forgot to correct.

Ne proicias me a facie tua *et spiritum  
sanctum tuum ne auferas a me*

Fol. 147<sup>a</sup>

Cast me nouzt fro þi visage	
Tak nouzt fro my þyn holy gost	90
ffor to byholde þat fayre ymage	
Of alle merthes hit is most	
A blysful bryd was brouzt in cage	
Knowe and kudde on euery cost	
When þou wer drawe in tender age	95
To dryue adoun þe fendes bost	

Redde michi leticiam salutaris tui  
*et principali confirma me*

Of helthe zeue me ioy and blysse	
And strengthe me wyþ þi spyrit chef	
And alle my wittes wysse	
Þat I may loue þat þe is lef	100
And as þou myzt langour lysse	
Þat brouztest man to grete bonchef	
Ne lat me neuer þi mercy mysse	
Whan I am greued wyþ gostli gref	

Docebo iniquos uias tuas  
*et impii ad te conuertentur*

Þe wikked I schal þi wayes teche	105
Þe synful schal to þe conuerte	
Þou synful soule be war of wreche	
And þenk how crystes hed and herte	
Brest and bak and body bleche	
How hyt was bete wyþ oute deserte	110
To rewe on hym I wolde reche	
Alas þer may no tere out sterte	

Libera me de sanguinibus deus deus salutis mee  
*et exultabit lingua mea iusticiam tuam*

Delyuere me fram blamful blode	
Almyzty god of myn helthe	
Penne schal my tounge wyþ mylde mode	115
Apertly schewe þat sely selthe	
Py ryztful blode ran doune on rode	
To wasche vs fro oure fleschly felþe	
And many a storm agayne þe stode	
To wysse vs fro þe worldes welþe	120

Fol. 147<sup>b</sup>

Domine labia mea aperies *et* os  
meum annunciabit laudem tuam

My lyppen lord þou schalt vndo  
and my mowþ schal þi preching spelle  
þi mercy and þi myzt also  
So parfyt may no tonge telle  
ffor when we dedly synnes do 125  
þi ryzt vs demerþ worþi to telle  
Bot when we sessen and kun sey ho  
þi mercy is oure waschyng welle

Quoniam si uoluisses sacrificium dedissem  
utique holocaustis non delectaberis

Were sacrifice to þe lykyng  
Y hadde hit zeue wyþ herte fre 130  
Bot certeyn non suche offryng  
As in hym self plesaunt may be  
þi self were offred a child wel zonge  
And after ward on rode tre  
When of þyn herte blod gan spryng 135  
Perfor myn herte I offre to þe

Sacrificium deo spiritus contribulatus cor  
contritum *et* humiliatum deus non despecies

To god hit is a sacrifice  
A greuyd gost þat reweþ sore  
An humble herte wil þu nouzt despise  
Whyl repentaunce may hyt restore 140  
I haue forlete þi seruise  
And lytel lyued after þi lore  
Bot y repente now and aryse  
Mercy god y wil no more

Benigne fac domine in bona uoluntate (*sic*) tua  
syon ut edituentur mini (*sic*) ierusalem

Vsiþ meke wille do to syon 145  
Ierusalem walles þat þey wer wrouzt  
Ierusalem as seyþ seynt Ihon  
Ys holy cherche þat erreþ nouzt  
Two testamentys cordyng in on  
þe walles were to gedre y brouzt 150  
When hym self was corner ston  
þat mannes soule so dere haþ bouzt

Tunc acceptabis sacrificium iusticie oblationes  
et holocausta tunc imponent super altare tuum vetulos

Penne schaltou sacrifice accepte  
Of ryztfulnesse trewþe entere  
And calues after þi precepte 155  
Schul be leyd on þyn autere  
On caluarie a calf þer sclepte  
Cryst on croys boþe clene and clere  
flor teres þat hys moder wepte  
he schylde vs alle fro helle fere 160

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### THE BOLAINÉ PHRASE

Some big city talk is recorded for the student of the English Renaissance in a passage of *The Institution of a Gentleman*.<sup>1</sup>

. . . yf a Gentlemanne haue in hym anye humble behauour, then Roysters doo cal suche one by the name of a Loute, a Clynchepope, or one that knoweth no facyons: yf a younge Gentlemen vse many wayne wordes, then they saye he can talke wel, and hatch a good witt: but if he talke wisely in dede wherin trew wit is to be deferned thē Roifters say y<sup>e</sup> yong Fox preacheth, & y<sup>e</sup> of a yong faint groweth an old deuill: if he vnderstande sūwhat more in learnig thē they do, or get his liuing by waye of wryting, as being a Clarke or fuche like, then in dispite they call hym Penman, which name is right honest, so that the perfon agree with his name: a Londoner is called a Gowneman (or after the Bolainé phrase) a Cutthrote.<sup>2</sup>

The passage seems to have engaged the attention of John North-

<sup>1</sup> London, 1555. The anonymous treatise is itself of interest in that it is the first English courtesy book devoted to the gentleman, as distinct from Castiglione's courtier, Elyot's governor. The new Englishman (89 years before Milton's more famous essay on education) will be "a man fyt for the warres, and fyte for the peace"—sign. B7<sup>v</sup>. This is almost an epitome of Professor Woodward's theory that the fusion of the knightly with the scholarly ("clerk") and civic (Italian city-state) types produced the "complete man of modern society . . . the final and harmonious picture of personality as the Renaissance had fashioned it"—*Studies in Education during the Age of the Renaissance* (Cambridge University Press, 1924), pp. 244-47.

<sup>2</sup> Signs. B3<sup>v</sup>-B4.



brooke, who copies it almost verbatim, and (a Renaissance vice) without acknowledgement, in the earliest systematic attack on the English theater.<sup>3</sup> In his edition of the Northbrooke dialogue<sup>4</sup> J. Payne Collier singles out this passage as one of the work's compensating sections, unaware that, borrowed from the earlier book, it is originally Marian, not Elizabethan, in context.

Of special interest is the fact that the reference marks the first appearance in English literature of two word-uses. "Clynchepope" (or *clinch-poop*, *clench-poop*: a workman who clinches bolts on poops in shipbuilding) has its first entry in *NED* as a term of contempt for persons lacking in gentility on the basis of its usage in the *Institucion*.<sup>5</sup> But the other original usage appears to have escaped the notice of the compilers of *NED*. Gentlemen, the *Institucion* reports, call London citizens not only "gownmen" but, after the "Bolaine" manner, "cutthroats." "Gownman" as an epithet for "one wearing the gown, or 'dress of peace'; a civilian in contradistinction to a soldier"<sup>6</sup> is unremarkable enough; and Sir Robert Naunton in his *Fragmenta Regalia*<sup>7</sup> quite matter-of-factly classifies the peers he discusses as either *Militia* or *Togati*, i. e., "swordsmen" or "gownmen." It is the other epithet that startles. The fact is, on the basis of the word's unmistakable context, that we may now offer a new meaning to the *NED* entries for "cutthroat":

8. A term of contempt for Londoners, in connotation similar to "gownman," i. e., a civilian.

The question is, where did this term, surely much harsher than the native "gownman," come from; why is it "Bolaine"?

It will be evident to the modern reader of the *Institucion* that whatever the "Bolaine" allusion is, it is not an esoteric one for the intended reader of the 1555 work. A product of second-generation

<sup>3</sup> *Spiritus est vicarius Christi in terra. A Treatise wherein Dicing, Dauncing, Vaine playes or Enterluds . . . are reprov'd . . .* (London, 1577), signs. A4-A4v.

<sup>4</sup> Shakespeare Society Reprint (1853), Introduction, pp. xv-xvi.

<sup>5</sup> The *NED* entry seems, however, to be 13 years too late; the epithet occurs, as we have seen, in the original as well as in the 1568 edition.

<sup>6</sup> *NED*.

<sup>7</sup> *Or Observations on the late Queen Elizabeth, Her Times and Favourites* (c. 1630). In *English Reprints*, edited by Edward Arber (1870).

humanism,<sup>8</sup> the *Institucion* conspicuously attempts to write for the "unlatined" gentleman, deliberately gives English glosses for not only all of its Latin quotations, but for its more difficult English terms as well.<sup>9</sup> And when for flavor the author rolls off the French phrase for a man of low degree—*De basse maison*<sup>10</sup>—he immediately follows it, to assist his gentle reader, with the explication: "of a low house"! In the otherwise totally communicative work, our author is not, we may reasonably assume, making here a literary allusion.

But a contemporary variant does appear in the Surrey sonnet "The fansie of a weried louer."<sup>11</sup> Surrey writes from

. . . base Bullayn  
Where I am now, as restlesse to remayn,  
Against my will, full pleased with my payn.

The Surrey reference, according to Professor Rollins, establishes the date of composition as the period in 1545-46 in which the Earl commanded Boulogne.<sup>12</sup> We know that Englishmen were in the port in the seven years from 1544, when Henry VIII took the town by siege, to 1550, when it was returned to the French. (It is interesting to note that even the young knight to whom the *Institucion* is dedicated, "Lord Fitzwater, Sonne and heire to the Erle of Sussex," was involved in the French campaign,<sup>13</sup> and the Surrey poem immediately preceding the sonnet in the *Miscellany*—"Exhortacion to learne by others trouble"—is, in fact, addressed to "My Ratclif"). It is clear, then, that the *Institucion's* readers would have known the allusion from experience, for one of the most sustained contracts of English gallants with France before the ad-

<sup>8</sup> Briefly, evident from the lavish application of Cicero (especially the *De Officiis*) to the contemporary scene; the extreme adherence to the anti-inkhorn, pro-vernacular school of Elyot, Cheke, Ascham, Wilson, Hoby, Grimald, Mulcaster, Golding, et al. Joseph Hunter's MS. *Chorus Vatum* (in Add. MS. 24487), I, 228-231, does, in fact, tentatively ascribe the anonymous *Institucion* to Nicholas Grimald.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. sign. I2: "agaynst our prochane & nere enemis. . . ."

<sup>10</sup> Sign. C4.

<sup>11</sup> In *Tottel's Miscellany* (1557-1587), edited by Hyder E. Rollins (Harvard University Press, 1928-29), I, 31.

<sup>12</sup> *Tottel's Miscellany* (1557-1587), II, 159.

<sup>13</sup> Robert Dunlop, "Thomas Radcliffe, third Earl of Sussex," *DNB*.

vent of the Elizabethan tours to the Continent (especially the exodus against which Ascham inveighs so shrilly in the *Scholemaster*) was precisely the contact with Boulogne. The phrase need not, therefore, be so much a Boulognese turn as a French one that the gentlemen-knights picked up in the town.

Godefroy, Hatzfeld, Larousse, Littré offer no enlightenment under their entries for "cutthroat" or its pre-sixteenth-century variants. But in the anonymous translation of another Renaissance treatise by Lawrence Humphrey,<sup>14</sup> published only eight years after the *Institucion* (the Latin original itself follows the *Institucion* by five<sup>15</sup>), one discovers a reference quite suggestive in the light of the 1555 work:

Pryde is it [the author exclaims] to term ciuile subiectes, and honest citisens, knaues, theeues, villens, as wont the french Nobility. of which word ["villens"] notwithstanding, the *Etymologie* and reason theym selues knowe not.<sup>16</sup>

At any rate, in this English allusion to a French and noble usage we are not too far from the extended meanings of "cutthroat." The sixth *NED* entry for "cutthroat" is the attributive one: "That is, or has the character of a cutthroat . . . murderous, ruffianly." The first entry for "ruffian" includes "a cutthroat villain"; while *NED*'s citation from Elyot (the 1531 *Gouernour*) shows that another synonym for "ruffian" is, in fact, "thief."

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#### POSSIBLE ORIGIN OF THE GERMAN IMPRECATION *SCHINDLEICH*

German *Schindleich* is unpleasant enough in its meaning and connotations and infrequent enough in appearance on the printed page to warrant some slight attention. The word itself in common

<sup>14</sup> *The Nobles or of Nobilitye. The original nature, duties, right, and Christian Institucion thereof . . . late englished . . . [with] the small treatyse of Philo a Jewe . . .* (London, 1563).

<sup>15</sup> *Optimates, sive de nobilitate, ejusque antiqua origine* (Basle, 1560)

<sup>16</sup> Signs. R7-R7v.

usage means "a flaying ground," or in more general terms "locus cadaverum projectorum."<sup>1</sup> Hence at first sight the expression seems to be a compound of *schinden* "to skin" and *Leich* "a place."

*Schinden* is a fairly ancient Germanic term, cognate with English skin and denoting "flay" or "skin" in a verbal sense. *Leich* is heir to a more complicated etymology: Gothic *láikan* "dance, jump" is its oldest documented ancestor.<sup>2</sup> The later meaning "play" was easily deduced from the same verb, and soon the substantive form *Leich* was applied to the arena in which a game was played.<sup>3</sup> And so came about the more modern derivation "any locus."

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of *Schindleich* is the fact that certain specialized dictionaries<sup>4</sup> endow the word with the function of being used as an imprecation, without elucidating a definite etymology of the word used in this sense. Ludwig Hertel in his small dictionary of the Thuringian dialect<sup>5</sup> gives many definitions for the term *Schindleich*, among them the expressions *Aas*, *Luder* and *heilloser Kerl*, and then he notes the idiomatic remark *ein Schindleich von Gelehrsamkeit* supposedly meaning "a heck of a scholar" with unmistakable sarcastic innuendoes. Even though a possible semantic connection between *Schindleich* meaning "a flaying ground" and *Schindleich* used as a deprecation can be established on empirical grounds, it is hard to convince ourselves of the etymological oneness of the two terms philologically.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Grimm Wörterbuch* IX, 201 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ulfilas' translation of Luke 15, 25 and other places in the Gothic testament.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Luthers Werke* (Weimar Ausgabe) II, 202: "Wer dem spiel zu sihet, der kans am besten. Denn sie meinen, wo sie die kugel jnn die hand kriegten, wolten sie wol zwelff kegel treffen, da doch nur neune auff der leich stehen, bis sie erfahren, das neben der Leiche auch ein weg hin gehet."

<sup>4</sup> The most conspicuous of these are:

Georg Schambach: *Wörterbuch der niederdeutschen Mundart* (Hannover, 1858), p. 184.

Andreas Schmeller: *Bayerisches Wörterbuch* (München, 1872), II, 429.

August Vilmar: *Idiotikon von Kurhessen* (Marburg u. Leipzig, 1883), p. 349.

Friedrich Liesenberg: *Die Stieger Mundart* (Halberstadt, 1890), p. 194.

Ludwig Hertel: *Thüringer Sprachschatz* (Weimar, 1895), p. 156 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 157.

Schambach<sup>6</sup> does not venture much in the way of an etymology of *Schindleich*, but his description furnishes us with a clue to a possible older origin:

schinnelæk, schinneleich, m.? u. n. viell. mit  
ags. scīn-læco magus ident. Ziemann Mhd. Wtb.  
schinleich portentum. ein Schimpfwort, dessen  
Sinn ich nicht näher bestimmen kann.

Schambach's suggestion that this word *schinneleich* might be identical with *scīnlæco* (or better, *scīnlæca*) is obviously not the best choice, for there is a direct cognate in Old English which fits the substantive form of the original word much better: *scīnlác*. This word was used to indicate "magic" or "sorcery," whereas *scīnlæca* is apparently "a sorcerer, magician, witch doctor." Schambach even thought of checking to find a similar term in Old High German, but unfortunately did not go past Ziemann's Middle High German dictionary,<sup>7</sup> and Ziemann only gives *scīnleih* glossed as *portentum*. And that was as far as Schambach could go.

But an investigation of the Old High German glosses (or even the mere consultation of Graff<sup>8</sup> for that matter!) presents us with a simple and direct answer. *Scīnleih* is glossed with Latin *monstrum* in at least two places<sup>9</sup> besides the places mentioning *portentum* or *grima*. Naturally then, the *scīn* syllable has nothing to do with the verb *schinden* "to skin," but is rather New High German *Schein* suggesting "fantasy, ghost."

It is my contention then that the word *Schindleich*, when and where it appears in dialectical usage as an imprecation, is to be associated with an original *scīnleih* rather than the more modern compound *Schind-leich*.<sup>10</sup> That confusion of the two terms has taken place, causing further changes which finally obscured the separate concepts, cannot be denied, but the original etymological root of *Schindleich* definable as "incorrigible fellow" or "terrible

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 184<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Adolf Ziemann: *Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch zum Handgebrauch* (Quedlinburg und Leipzig, 1838), p. 362.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. E. G. Graff: *Althochdeutscher Sprachschatz* (Berlin, 1836), II, 154.

<sup>9</sup> Steinmeyer-Sievers: *Die althochdeutschen Glossen* I, 212, 11; II, 316, 42.

<sup>10</sup> I see no good reason why we cannot continue accepting the usual etymological definition of *Schindleich* when it means "carriage" or "flaying ground." Cf. Liesenberg *op. cit.*, p. 194, for this traditional interpretation.



boor" is to be sought with the *scinleih* of the glosses. And this fact has remained unnoticed or neglected by phonologists to date.

Jacob Grimm in his *Deutsche Grammatik*<sup>11</sup> mentions that the word *scinleih* is glossed as *monstrum*, and then further on in the same paragraph uses illustrations of endings in *-leich* without making any remark about the possible connection:

. . . in niederhess. ist schin-leich, sching-leiche  
unverstandenes schimpfwort geblieben. . . .

Similarly Vilmar<sup>12</sup> (although he actually managed to understand the possibilities afforded by the fortuitous inclusion of the *scinleih* and *schingleiche* in the same paragraph of the Grimm grammar) prefers to ignore the lead in Grimm:

Sicherlich ist unser Schindleich keine Verkehrung  
des alten *scinleih*, portentum, monstrum (Grimm Gramm.  
2, 503).

Obviously Vilmar worked from the sense of the word: to him *Schindleich* was first of all used for "unflätige Orthe" and then as a completely meaningless imprecation. The reasonableness of "monstrum" as a translation for the imprecation never made any definite impression on him.

Up to this point our main concern has been to explain the confusion of *scin-* and *schind-* in the first syllable of the term in question. The addition of the consonants *d* or *g* between the *scin-* and *-leich* parts of the word can be explained by the well-known linguistic axiom that after a nasal often another consonant (usually a dental) is added as the last sound of the word or before a suffixed ending. For example, inhabitants of Berlin are likely to say *ebnt* for *eben*; <sup>13</sup> Old High German *mōna* becomes New High German *Mond*. Besides it is often hard to distinguish between two like consonants (in this case *n* and *l*) without hiatus or the inclusion of another sound.

As for the ending *-leich*, the syllable as it stands does not necessarily have to mean "a place"; rather it could more appropriately suggest the mobile connotation needed for the meaning "fantastic apparition" in the original *scinleih* with its other signification of

<sup>11</sup> Second edition, 1878. Cf. II, 487.

<sup>12</sup> *Op. cit.* Cf. p. 349.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Hans Ries: *Die deutschen Mundarten* (Berlin und Leipzig, 1920), p. 55.

"dance" or "play." Then too, it should be noted that the syllable *-leich* can also be used as a simple suffix with little or no basic meaning at all. This suffix-use of the term is more pronounced in Old English and Old Norse (e. g. *brýtlác*, *kunnleikr*) and can still be recognized in Modern English *knowledge*, for the *-ledge* suffix here is in reality a transformation of *-leich*. This example should help us form an opinion of the indefiniteness of its meaning when used as a suffix.

Dialectical usage through the centuries has managed to confuse the origins, meanings and separate employment of the two terms *scínleih* and *Schindleich*. The step back and forth between possible words like *\*scínen* and *\*scinden* is by no means difficult to make, especially when dealing with dialects, and the meanings of the two words could be brought close enough together semantically to warrant reasonable confusion. But in the last analysis I think we are justified in accepting the ninth century *scínleih* (a monster) as the probable and plausible ancestor of the modern dialectical *Schindleich* used as an imprecation.

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NOTES ON THE CEPHALUS-PROCRIS MYTH AS  
DRAMATIZED BY LOPE DE VEGA  
AND CALDERÓN

These two plays appeared, the one<sup>1</sup> in 1635, the other,<sup>2</sup> not later than 1662.<sup>3</sup> The classic original is as follows: Cephalus and Procris live happily wedded in Athens. While hunting, he is detained by Aurora. After a time desiring to test his wife's virtue he appears before her unrecognized, and by gifts and blandishments combined causes her to waver. Next becoming jealous in her turn, she watches him in the forest and, mistaken by him for a beast, perishes by a spear which she herself had given him.

<sup>1</sup> *La Bella Aurora* in *Obras de Lope de Vega* published by the Royal Spanish Academy, VI (Madrid: Sucesores de Rivadeneira, 1896), 213-248; Menéndez y Pelayo, *ibid.*, p. lxxii, I, 582, 588.

<sup>2</sup> *Celos, aun del Aire, Matan*, in *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, XII, 473-488.

<sup>3</sup> Menéndez y Pelayo, *ibid.*, p. lxxv.

As was to be expected, Ovid <sup>4</sup> is the direct source of both authors, and to a less degree perhaps Hyginus.<sup>5</sup> But we find their narrative richly embellished by glowing imaginations with elements from the romances and books of chivalry.<sup>6</sup>

It is significant that Aurora, who should love as a mortal while retaining supernatural powers, loses in Lope's treatment her identity as goddess of dawn and appears as a sorceress (227, 1, 31), living in a palace decorated with rare furniture and tapestries and resplendent with jewels (222, 2, 22), to which she invites Cephalus. There she holds him enchanted (223, 1, 22) and ignorant both of the lapse of time (227, 1, 19) and of her wiles.

As for the temptation, Ovid represents Cephalus as harboring independently suspicion of his wife and adopts his own means of proving her. On the other hand Hyginus will cause Aurora to initiate the doubt and to furnish Cephalus the objects with which to test his wife. Lope, following that lead, makes Aurora responsible for Cephalus' suspicions. As a variation he conceives the couple to have married against the wishes of the bride's parents and him to be detained by Aurora. The time is important; with Lope it is one year or more (227, 1, 20), which being too short for an appreciable change in looks to occur, Cephalus presents himself to Procris disguised as a Corinthian merchant, who offers her jewels in a box (231, 1, 30 f.). No classical author, so far as we know, mentions disguise as a merchant. That feature, apparently original with Lope, doubtless comes from Boccaccio,<sup>7</sup> who mentions it twice.<sup>8</sup> In fact Lope improves on his model by bringing forward two suitors:

<sup>4</sup> *Metamorphoses*, VII, 661-865; *Ars Amatoria*, III, 685-746.

<sup>5</sup> *Fab.*, 189.

<sup>6</sup> Cephalus is transformed from a lonesome hunter, as in Ovid, to a courtier, or at least a *galán* with some inclination for the chase. Only in Act III of Lope's play does he voluntarily go out to hunt. A prince of Thebes invites him to enjoy the sport (Act I), whereupon he professes his addiction to fishing also (243, 1, 11). Under Calderón's hand where there are wrongs to redress he intervenes. He turns aside at Aura's call of distress, even shielding her from Diana (474, 1, 33). When the temple burns, he is impelled to save whom he can (482, 1, 37), and actually rescues Procris (482, 3, 21). This is not the Cephalus of Ovid, but a companion in arms of Amadis of Gaul.

<sup>7</sup> Therefore Menéndez y Pelayo seems in error in assuming the influence of an oriental tale, *loc. cit.*, p. lxxiv.

<sup>8</sup> Qui cum se mercatorem finxisset, *Genealogiae*, Lib. xiii, Cap. LXV; in mercatorem se transtulit, *ibid.*

a Theban prince and one Perseo in true Homeric fashion. This is quite different from Ovid, who contrives to have Cephalus increase the gifts and thus conquer his wife's resistance,<sup>9</sup> and Hyginus also with whom she yields at once and then flies to Diana. It is Calderón's distinction to omit altogether the seduction, which he may have considered crude for his purpose.<sup>10</sup>

As is well known, Procris received from Diana an unerring spear and a dog. For what purpose? It is logical for Hyginus to establish pity for her nymph as the motive and for Ovid to take the gift for granted. Calderón denominates the spear a hunting knife and Lope, as an afterthought, a gilded dart. If, then, Diana esteems her nymph, how can she give her a weapon which will eventually cause her death? Calderón's procedure here is to represent Diana as offended with Procris for her desertion; we find Lope not altogether specific apparently suggesting fear of Cephalus. The dog is not mentioned by Calderón nor by Lope, fertile in improvisation though they are.

Why should Procris, warned or not warned, expose herself to the deadly spear? As a huntress, accident is ample motivation. Yet the idea of jealousy creeps in from the first as in Hyginus and Ovid. Lope replaces Ovid's vague *nescio quis*, the tattler, first by Belisa, an attendant of Diana, and second by Felicio, a peasant.<sup>11</sup> Turning to Calderón we observe him arousing Procris' suspicions through Cephalus' sudden devotion to hunting; then by using *Laura* instead of *Aura* he preserves in a small way the confusion introduced by Ovid between *Aura* and *aura*.

Highly significant is Ovid's characterization of Procris, mad with jealousy, both in *Ars Amatoria*<sup>12</sup> and in the *Metamorphoses*.<sup>13</sup> In the former her actions verge on frenzy, as she flies hither and thither. A veritable Bacchante, she rends her garments and wounds her flesh with her nails. In the *Metamorphoses* she complains with vain complaints, and fears a name without substance (*Aura*). Long Ovid dwells on the description, artfully analyzing and refining.<sup>14</sup> In marked contrast Calderón and Lope reject a violent character-

<sup>9</sup> *Met.*, VII, 740.

<sup>10</sup> See my article, "The Apollo and Daphne Myth as Treated by Lope de Vega and Calderón," *Hispanic Review*, I, 152-153.

<sup>11</sup> Felicio is almost certainly the rustic named by Boccaccio: Rusticus autem quidam nympham vocari putans Poeri rettulit, *loc. cit.*, line 15.

<sup>12</sup> III, 701 f.

<sup>13</sup> VII, 826 f.

<sup>14</sup> *Met.*, VII, 826 f.

ization, suppressing the extravagances of the pagan authors in order to satisfy the taste of their own age. In the one Procris voices her fears and complaints with calm throughout (Act III, Sc. II); in *La Bella Aurora*, too, she acts with well ordered reserve.

At last Procris falls wounded. Was she aware of her error? Ovid wavers. In one version she learns the truth, while in the other she dies in ignorance of it. Lope has her sink to the earth unenlightened. We expect Calderón to be different. He is. Jealousy is a violent trait. Therefore from it Procris suddenly passes to altruism as she interposes herself between Cephalus and a beast; she receives the death stroke.

Lope and Calderón, then, finding only brief entries in the encyclopedias, relied chiefly on the *Metamorphoses* in staging the Cephalus myth. Although the background is ancient, the atmosphere belongs to the pastoral novel and the books of chivalry. No other of their plays could show that more perfectly.

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#### SOME UNNOTED RELIGIOUS ALLUSIONS IN T. S. ELIOT'S "THE HIPPOPOTAMUS"

Insufficient attention, it seems, has been given to the extent to which Eliot has interwoven religious allusions into "The Hippopotamus." The more obvious references, such as "the True Church," "it is based upon a rock," or the line from William Cowper, have all been duly recorded. But it has not been noted that the bulk of allusions is to religious sources and that the quotation from Cowper takes on added significance when it is considered as one of several allusions to the same hymn book rather than as an isolated hymn line.

The attempt to link "The Hippopotamus" to Gautier's "L'Hippopotame" in more than meter and rhyme scheme has perhaps been responsible for the failure to note the close parallel between the description of behemoth (identified by Biblical scholars as the hippopotamus) given in the fortieth chapter of Job and the opening lines of Eliot's poem. Eliot writes:

The broadbacked hippopotamus  
Rests on his belly in the mud;  
Although he seems so firm to us  
He is merely flesh and blood.

In Job it is said of behemoth: “. . . his strength is in his loins . . . His bones are as strong pieces of brass; his bones are like bands of iron. . . . He lieth under the shady tree, in the covert of the reed, and fens.”

In the course of the poem the hippopotamus is presented first as engaged in constant quest (probably of spiritual truth as symbolized by the mango)<sup>1</sup> and then as having found both faith and salvation. In both sections there are several hymn allusions. The hymns referred to in each section represent two hymnals.

The section in which the hippopotamus's pursuit of truth is presented contains four allusions to hymns found in the Unitarian hymnal which Eliot was most likely to have known before his drift away from the faith of his fathers.<sup>2</sup>

*Eliot.*      Flesh-and-blood is weak and frail

*Hymnal.* (hymn by Isaac Watts)  
Great God, how infinite art thou!  
How frail and weak are we!

*Eliot.* The hippo's feeble steps may err

*Hymnal.* (Anna L. Waring's "Sweet is the solace of thy love")<sup>a</sup>  
 Though from the shadow of thy peace  
 My feet would often stray

<sup>1</sup>The use of the mango to symbolize spiritual truth is discussed in *Explicator* VIII (October 1949), Item 6. Of the four hymns to which Eliot seems to allude in the first part of "The Hippopotamus" two contain references to the search for spiritual truth and a third presents doubt as an obstacle in the search for spiritual truth:

(Waring) While through the hidden way of faith/ I journey home with thee  
or  
(Gregory the Great) Make us eternal truths receive/ . . . Protect and  
guide us in our way

(Chadwick) We would be . . . / One in the power that makes thy children  
free/ To follow truth, and thus to follow thee

(Cowper) Blind unbelief is sure to err,/ And scan His [God's] work in vain.

<sup>2</sup> *Hymns for Church and Home*. Boston, 1903 (copyright 1895). Whether Eliot knew this special printing or an earlier printing of the same copyright would make little difference.

<sup>a</sup> Or the allusion may be to the line "And, lest our feet should step



*Eliot.* . . . at being one with God

*Hymnal.* (John W. Chadwick's "Eternal Ruler of the ceaseless round")

We are of thee, the children of thy love,  
The brothers of thy well-beloved Son.  
Descend, O Holy Spirit! like a dove,  
Into our hearts, that we may be as one,—  
As one with thee, to whom we ever tend;  
As one with him, our brother and our friend.

*Eliot.* (quotation from hymn by William Cowper)

and

*Hymnal.* God moves in a mysterious way

That association should be made between the search for spiritual truth and the Unitarian hymnal seems appropriate, as according to Unitarian faith the revelation of truth is a continuing process and the search for it must be continuous and unending.<sup>4</sup> Such an association, however, cannot be used to prove that at the time he wrote "The Hippopotamus" Eliot was still a good Unitarian. On the contrary, the one hymn written by a Unitarian (Chadwick) to which Eliot makes allusion is placed in a much less favorable light than the three hymns by non-Unitarians which appear in the same hymnal. The allusion to Chadwick's hymn is so given in "The Hippopotamus" as to suggest that Eliot considered it an expression of smugness. As the hymn, taken in its entirety, is a prayer for guidance and strength, such an interpretation would be another manifestation of the bitterness and revolt which Eliot has from time to time betrayed in regard to his early environment.

In the second part of "The Hippopotamus" allusions to hymns are of an entirely different nature. They no longer come from the Unitarian hymnal, nor, apparently, do they come from an Anglican one.<sup>5</sup> Surprisingly enough, allusions to the Methodist hymnal seem

astray" from Gregory the Great's "O Source of uncreated light," which is also to be found in the Unitarian hymnal referred to. As in the case of the quotation from Cowper, this allusion is considered as forming a pattern with other allusions to the same hymn book, rather than as an isolated line drawn from any one of numerous hymn writers.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Frederick M. Eliot's statement in *Unitarians Believe* (Boston, 1939; 13th printing 1946): "Each generation—indeed each individual—must be free to enlarge the scope and correct the substance of even the most sacred formulas of spiritual or ethical insight inherited from the past." (p. 21) It is not without interest that F. M. Eliot, president of the American Unitarian Association, and T. S. Eliot are cousins.

<sup>5</sup> As in the case of the hymn allusions in the first part of "The Hippo-

numerous. With the aid of Codville's concordance<sup>6</sup> parallels have been established for nearly every line:

- Eliot.* I saw the 'potamus take wing  
Ascending from the damp savannas
- Hymnal 2.* (From "Thy gracious presence, O my God")  
Then shall my cheerful spirit sing  
The darksome hours away,  
And rise, on faith's expanded wing,  
To everlasting day.
- Eliot.* And quiring angels round him sing  
The praise of God, in loud hosannas.
- Hymnal 2.* (From "Lo! round the throne, a glorious band")  
Lo! round the throne, a glorious band,  
The saints in countless myriads stand; . . .  
And day and night, with ceaseless praise  
To him [Christ] their loud hosannas raise.
- Eliot.* Blood of the lamb shall wash him clean  
and  
He shall be washed as white as snow

There are numerous parallels to these lines. Two, both from Charles Wesley, are quoted below:

- Hymnal 2.* (From "Jesus, to thee I now can fly")  
I wash my garments in the blood  
Of the atoning Lamb.  
(From "My God, my God, to thee I cry")

potamus," those in the second part seem to be a unit forming a definite pattern created most probably by drawing all allusions from the hymnal of one denomination. The Episcopalian hymnals (whether British or American) before 1917 do not fulfill this requirement. If they are searched for reference, three allusions remain without parallel and in two other cases the parallel with Eliot is much weaker than in the Methodist hymnal. The hymnals of the two denominations share only one allusion (that to the saints raising "their loud hosannas" to Christ). A comparison of Methodist and Episcopalian hymn collections with those of the Baptist denomination indicates that while more productive of parallels than the Episcopalian collections, the Baptist hymnals are a less fruitful source of allusions than are the Methodist ones. The Methodist hymnal not only furnishes parallels for nearly every line; it appears to be the only hymnal among those of three orthodox denominations which can do so unaided.

<sup>6</sup> William Codville. *A Concordance to the Hymnal of the Methodist Episcopal Church*. New York, 1880. The quotations themselves are taken from the *Hymnal of the Methodist Episcopal Church*. New York, 1878.

Thy purifying blood apply,  
And wash me white as snow.

*Eliot.* And him shall heavenly arms enfold

*Hymnal 2.* (From "Which of the monarchs of the earth")  
And lodge us in the arms divine

*Eliot.* Among the saints he shall be seen

*Hymnal 2.* (From "When thou, my righteous Judge, shalt come")  
Among the saints let me be found

*Eliot.* Performing on a harp of gold

*Hymnal 2.* With our harps in our hands we will praise evermore.

If the identification of these allusions as belonging to the Methodist hymnal is correct, this may suggest a phase of Eliot's development which as yet has escaped notice; or, more plausibly, it may indicate that he consulted a Methodist hymnal for the express purpose of obtaining material for this poem.

The possibility that such an extended list of parallels may necessitate a re-examination and reinterpretation of "The Hippopotamus" should not be overlooked. The identification of the hippopotamus with behemoth would suggest that the hippopotamus, like behemoth, is "chief of the ways of God" (Job XL, 19). To be "chief of the ways of God" would seem one of the prerogatives of the inherently religious man, in this case, a religious man in search of a faith to which he can give his adherence. Nor does it seem without importance that the path which in Anna Waring's hymn is from time to time deserted is "the hidden way of faith" leading "through a waste and weary land." A restudy of the poem may likewise establish the identity of "the True Church." I am not convinced that it represents the Anglican Church or even that it necessarily represents any one denomination.

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## JEFFARES ON YEATS

Since A. Norman Jeffares' recent *W. B. Yeats / Man and Poet* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1949) inevitably takes a place beside Joseph Hone's biography (*W. B. Yeats / 1865-1939*, N. Y.: Macmillan, 1943) as one of the indispensable books in its field, students will hope for the impeccable in revised editions. The present note is intended, in line with such hope, to suggest some matters pertinent to consideration and point certain errors aside from such as are involved in the hazards of proofreading (cf. "wait" for "wail" in the stanza from "The Ballad of the Foxhunter," p. 90, and the curious mishandling of the extract from *The Wanderings of Oisín* on p. 47, where also the "Niamh" of *Collected Poems* becomes the "Niam" of *Early Poems and Stories*), the minor slips in quotation apparent in the third excerpt from *Essays* on p. 194, and the frequently faulty correlation of footnotes with text especially evident in Chapter 10, ii. To proceed:

*Silva Gadelica*, correctly dated 1892 on p. 45, is misdated 1872 on p. 347; *The Countess Kathleen*, correctly assigned to 1892 on p. 71, is misdated 1891 on p. 339; Horton's *Book of Images*, properly credited to 1898 on p. 345, is postponed to 1918 on p. 168; and Dr. Jeffares' own "Gyres in the Poetry of W. B. Yeats" is assigned to both the June (p. 324, fn. 46) and the August (p. 349) 1946 numbers of *English Studies*, the former of these being the correct allocation.

Ernest appears as "Edward" Dowson in the "Index" (p. 355), where (p. 358) Macleod also appears as "McLeod" and William Sharp as "Sharpe"; in the extracts from Yeats on pp. 106 and 109 Macleod is again misspelled—though perhaps in the course of following precisely the text of a poet who was himself a miserable speller. Incidentally, the "H. F. B." in the extract from Ernest Rhys's *Fortnightly Review* article of July 1935 should properly be "H. P. B." (Helena Petrovna Blavatsky).

On p. 30 Dr. Jeffares implies that *Mosada* was written after *The Island of Statues*. The latter did find the earlier publication, and both were written in 1884, but *The Island . . .* (according to MS dating, completed in August) apparently followed *Mosada* in date of composition—at least, if Yeats's own words and Richard

Ellmann's study (*Yeats / The Man and the Masks*, N. Y.: Macmillan, 1948; pp. 35, 36, 40) may be trusted.

In several instances Dr. Jeffares has been careless in advertising "unpublished" matter. Thus, "The Well and the Tree," labelled "an unpublished poem" (p. 182), really constitutes the concluding speech of *At the Hawk's Well* (*Four Plays for Dancers*, N. Y.: Macmillan, 1921; pp. 23-4—or *Plays and Controversies*, N. Y.: Macmillan, 1924; pp. 355-6); and the "unpublished" notes quoted on pp. 197-8 and 208-10 may be found in the Cuala Press *Michael Robartes and the Dancer* (1920).

In the next place, Dr. Jeffares (pp. 183 and 190) misdates the composition of what is to-day (*Collected Poems*, N. Y.: Macmillan, 1933) "To a Child Dancing in the Wind" 1913: the poem was printed, under the title "To a Child Dancing upon the Shore," in *Chicago Poetry*, I, 3 (Dec. 1912). 68. Similarly he misdates (*id.*) the composition of "Two Years Later" 1915: this lyric, under the title "To a Child Dancing in the Wind," also appeared in *Poetry*: IV, 2 (May 1914). 59.

I must further query Dr. Jeffares' reference to "Meditations in Time of Civil War," which he says (p. 329, fn. 51) was "Published in *Seven Poems and a Fragment*, p. 7, under the title 'Thoughts upon the Present State of the World.'" I have not seen the Cuala volume in question (1922), though I know it contains the title named, but I have seen "Thoughts upon the Present State of the World" used as the title of what is now (*Collected Poems*) called "Nineteen Hundred and Nineteen" in the *Dial* printing of September 1921 (LXXI, 265) and "Meditations in Time of Civil War" printed (except for numbering of stanzas—later eliminated—substantially as in *Collected Poems*) in the January 1923 *London Mercury* (VII, 39, 232 ff.). Incidentally, this record of periodical publication of the "Meditations . . .", which also appeared in the January *Dial* (LXXIV, 51 ff.), makes obvious the error in Mr. Hone's dating (fn., p. 358) of the completion of the poem 1923.—Yeats himself gives one a choice of dates in *Collected Poems*—1922 on p. 452, 1923 on p. 238!

Inasmuch as Messrs. Jeffares, Hone, and Ellmann have all supposedly had free access to Yeats's MS relicts, as well as the coöperation of the poet's widow and surviving friends, it seems pertinent here also to remark certain factual disagreements, by way of inviting their resolution.

Mr. Hone, who inaccurately states (p. 325, fn. 2) that "Owen Aherne and His Dancers" was not published "until 1928" (it appeared as two separate lyrics—"The Lover Speaks" and "The Heart Replies"—in the Cuala Press *Cat and the Moon* . . ., 1924), remarks (p. 325) that the poem was written while Yeats was visiting Maud Gonne in Normandy during the summer of 1917. Dr. Jeffares, in turn, says (p. 191): "He wrote the first part of this poem, 'Owen Aherne and his Dancers,' four days and the second part seven days after he was married"—and one recalls that the marriage took place 21 October 1917.

Dr. Ellmann (p. 197) dates the original draft of "Ego Dominus Tuus" October 1915; Dr. Jeffares (p. 193) says the poem was "composed on 5 December 1915." (Yeats himself dates the poem December 1915 in *Per Amica Silentia Lunae*, but the poet's cavalier attitude in such matters is notorious.)

Mr. Hone dates the birth of Yeats's daughter 24 February 1919 and remarks (p. 338) that "A Prayer for My Daughter" "was begun a few weeks after Anne Yeats' birth, and completed in June at Ballylee, where the scene is set." Dr. Jeffares (p. 213) dates the birth 26 February and the writing of the poem the following summer.

Dr. Jeffares (p. 258) dates the writing of "Coole Park, 1929" 7 September 1929; Mr. Hone (p. 455) assigns parts of it to the winter of 1931-32.

Mr. Hone (p. 352) seems to imply that "Nineteen Hundred and Nineteen" was written during "the winter of 1920-21," but Dr. Jeffares (p. 220) agrees with Yeats's 1919 dating.

Dr. Jeffares (p. 102) labels "The Travail of Passion" and "He Bids His Beloved Be at Peace" as "the poems which he wrote to Diana Vernon"; Mr. Hone (p. 131) gives Yeats as authority for stating that the second of these two and "He Gives His Beloved Certain Rhymes" were addressed to this innamorata.

Dr. Jeffares quotes in his final footnote (p. 338), with presumably implied assumption of its factual truth, Yeats's claim in his 15 August 1938 letter to Lady Gerald Wellesley that he "wrote on the margin" of "a book of essays about Rilke" certain epitaphic lines. Mr. Hone (fn., p. 507) records that "There is no note on the margin of Y.'s copy."

A personal rumination in conclusion:



Dr. Jeffares (p. 245) relates the line "With sixty or more winters on its head" ("Among School Children") to "the winter of your age," words of a beggar to Lady Gregory quoted by Yeats in a May 1926 letter to Mrs. Shakespear. Might not Donne's "Till age snow white hairs on thee" also, and as logically, have been lurking in the poet's mind?

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"MY DEAD KING!": THE DINNER QUARREL IN  
JOYCE'S *PORTRAIT OF THE ARTIST*

When Parnell fell from power in 1891 the binding centre dropped out of Irish politics for years to come. The bitterness attending his fall split the Irish Party into two antagonistic groups, divided families and sundered friendships throughout the nation; as Yeats said, "the accumulated hatred of years was suddenly transferred from England to Ireland."<sup>1</sup> It was a fragment of that bitterness which Joyce described with such intensity and—as a glance at contemporary records will show—with such fidelity in the Christmas dinner section of the first chapter of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. The episode runs as follows:

[Stephen Dedalus, on holiday from boarding school, is having Christmas dinner with his mother, father, his father's friend Mr. Casey, and his very religious aunt, Dante. The conversation gradually moves from simplicities to religion and politics; smouldering enmities awake; and soon the fury is loose]:

—Let him [Stephen] remember too, cried Mr. Casey to her from across the table, the language with which the priests and the priest's pawns broke Parnell's heart and hounded him into his grave. Let him remember that too when he grows up.

—Sons of bitches! cried Mr. Dedalus. When he was down they turned

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<sup>1</sup> *The King of the Great Clock Tower* (Cuala Press, 1934), p. 28. Parnell's fall was engineered by the British Government. (See, for example, Shane Leslie, *The Irish Tangle for English Readers* [London, 1946], pp. 118-125). The precipitating cause was the moral indignation of Catholic Ireland upon the disclosure of Parnell's romance with Mrs. O'Shea, wife of one of the underlings in his party.

on him to betray him and rend him like rats in a sewer. Lowlived dogs! And they look it! By Christ, they look it!

—They behaved rightly, cried Dante. They obeyed their bishops and their priests. Honor to them!<sup>2</sup>

By mounting stages Joyce reaches a climax of dramatic and mythic power. Dante rises to leave, rigid ~~with rage~~; Mr. Casey moves menacingly toward the middle of the room:

. . . At the door Dante turned round violently and shouted down the room, her cheeks flushed and quivering with rage:

—Devil out of hell! We won! We crushed him to death! Fiend!

The door slammed behind her.

Mr. Casey, freeing his arms from his holders, suddenly bowed his head on his hands with a sob of pain.

—Poor Parnell! he cried loudly. My dead King! He sobbed loudly and bitterly.

Stephen, raising his terrorstricken face, saw that his father's eyes were full of tears.<sup>3</sup>

The historical truth of this whole episode is, I think, interestingly confirmed by the following excerpt from a letter published by *United Ireland* in January, 1892. The letter is by Miss Lucinda Sharpe, of Brisbane, Australia, and she describes her feelings upon hearing of the death of the Irish leader:<sup>4</sup>

. . . If my boy ever rats on a man like Parnell, if another Parnell comes in his time, I believe I'll rise up out of my grave and disown him as a changeling if I've got to get a special license to do it.

And now Parnell is dead. I cried and cried when I heard it. I don't know why, for it's all over for him, and he's done his duty to his people and the world, and we're the better for his having lived, and they've broken his brave, iron heart, those miserable hypocrites and traitors who've abused him so. And that's better for him, of course. But for us who needed him so, and for him to die like that, I cried somehow. What he might have done, with his grand genius and his love for the people and his iron will. Just fancy what I used to dream sometimes, that it was he who was destined to pull all men together in one great world-wide Labour Union, and break up those who wrong the people and bring in the new order of things we look for. He could have, this Charlie Parnell, who took Ireland from the wayside ditch and set her among the nations—he could have saved us all, perhaps, as he saved Ireland, or would have saved her had they let him live. But they killed him with their hatred, these middle class hypocrites, who only

<sup>2</sup> *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (London, 1916), p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

<sup>4</sup> Parnell died on the 6th October, 1891, of a pulmonary condition brought on by anxiety and overwork.

hated him because he loved the people so, and thought only of doing the people good. Those wretches! The class that never goes straight! And so he's gone, and the world is left, and there isn't any man like him anywhere any more. But we can remember him, and try to be a little like him, and put no trust in the class that's betrayed him, as they have betrayed every great leader of the people who ever lived, and every really good man.<sup>6</sup>

The above letter presents a somewhat broader view of Parnell's fall than does the *Portrait*; and in this respect it provides an interesting nexus between the contrasting views of Joyce and W. B. Yeats on that historic event. To Joyce, Parnell was a victim of religious bigotry. Yeats, who hated "these middle class hypocrites, the class that never goes straight," saw his fall as a ritual sacrifice, merely the occasion for the release of hysterical self-hatred; in effect, Ireland eating itself:

. . . . . popular rage  
*Hysterica passio* dragged this quarry down.  
 None shared our guilt; nor did we play a part  
 Upon a painted stage when we devoured his heart.<sup>7</sup>

As usual, the truth is doubtless a blending of all three points of view. However, my object has not been to explain the fall of Parnell, but only to illustrate, in one particular instance, the accuracy and integrity of Joyce's memory of an event which was of crucial importance to the politics and literature of modern Ireland.

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#### ANN RADCLIFFE'S NATURE DESCRIPTIONS

The pictures of wild, melancholy, and sublime scenes which distinguish Ann Radcliffe's fiction and which contributed to the development not only of the novel but of poetry, the drama, and probably painting—these pictures suggest an interesting problem.

<sup>6</sup> *United Ireland*, XI (January 9, 1892), 1. This was a Parnellite paper, Parnell having once rescued it from suppression.

<sup>7</sup> *The King of the Great Clock Tower*, p. 22. Compare, also, Yeats' comment on these verses: "We had passed through an initiation like that of the Tibetan ascetic, who staggers half dead from a trance, where he has seen himself eaten alive and has not yet learnt that the eater was himself" (*ibid.*, p. 28).

For, in the words of Walter Raleigh, "The landscapes for which she is so justly famous are pictures of countries she never saw";<sup>1</sup> and since they do not seem real and since they contribute notably to the sense of mystery and terror which it is the purpose of her novels to create, they may be merely stage settings, effective back-grounds painted to order. Yet there are passages in all of her tales save the last (in which nature plays no part) and in her posthumously-published descriptive poetry which seem to indicate a genuine love of the out-of-doors and an eye for aspects of nature that were not often noticed in her time. Myra Reynolds has, for example, called attention to her sensitivity to the beauty of the sea, "to all the 'goings on' in the sky . . . delicate, evanescent effects . . . the quick shiftings of color and form, the interplay of light and shade, the dimness, the transparency, the luminosity, resulting from atmospheric changes."<sup>2</sup>

Fortunately we have more direct evidence as to Mrs. Radcliffe's delight in external nature. In 1795, after completing her first three novels, she published *A Journey made in the Summer of 1794, through Holland and the Western Frontier of Germany, with a Return down the Rhine: to which are added Observations during a Tour to the Lakes of Lancashire, Westmoreland, and Cumberland*. This narrative of her only journey to the continent and to the Lake Country—it will be observed that she did not venture far—is Mrs. Radcliffe's sole travel book. Yet she and her husband followed this trip by making one or two English excursions each year, mainly to the south coast. "On these journeys," we are told, "Mrs. Radcliffe almost invariably employed snatches of time at the inns where she rested, in committing to paper the impressions and events of the day . . . but without the slightest idea of publication, from which she generally shrunk as an evil."<sup>3</sup> Extracts from twelve of these journals, covering the years 1797-1822, are in-

<sup>1</sup> *The English Novel* (London, 1894), 228.

<sup>2</sup> *The Treatment of Nature in English Poetry between Pope and Wordsworth* (Chicago, 1896), 227-8. The Memoir prefixed to her *Posthumous Works* said, in 1833, of her journals: "Perhaps no writer in prose, or verse, has been so happy in describing the varied effects of light" (i. 119, cf. i. 97). The journals and the posthumous poems dwell repeatedly on the beauty of the sea.

<sup>3</sup> Memoir (said to be by T. N. Talfourd) prefixed to her *Posthumous Works* (London, 1833), i. 15.

cluded in the Memoir which accompanied her *Posthumous Works*. We have therefore her descriptions of nature in three stages: those written approximately on the spot and solely for her own pleasure; those written on the spot with some thought of publication and revised before printing; and those describing countries she had not seen, written for her novels to heighten the romance, mystery, melancholy, or terror of the incidents. In the unpublished journals we are given few general impressions but many accurately-noted, picture-evoking details, usually of cheerful scenes like the following:

The Needles are vast dark blocks of rock, tall, but not pointed, standing out from the island in the sea. Hurst Castle, with its dark line of peninsula stretching athwart the Channel. The Needles become more huge seen against the light, with the point of Alum Rock in shade. These objects, with the high line of the Isle of Purbeck, faintly grey beyond, composed a perfect picture, with most harmonious colouring. The light silver grey of the sea first met the eye, then the dark Alum Rock projected to meet Hurst Castle, whose towers were pencilled in deep grey beyond, which softened away to the heights of Purbeck, that closed the perspective.<sup>4</sup>

Occasionally landscapes that inspire fear are described, but always clearly and with abundant detail:

The road is, for the most part, close to the wall of rock, which seems to lie in loose horizontal strata, with frequent perpendicular fissures, which threaten the traveller with destruction, as he passes sometimes beneath enormous masses, that lean forward. This is the boundary on one side of the road; on the other side, is an extremely irregular and rugged descent of half a mile towards the sea: on this side, there are sometimes what may be called amphitheatres of rock . . . a Druid scene of wildness and ruin.<sup>5</sup>

The *Journey . . . through Holland and . . . the Lakes* offers fewer descriptions, fewer details, but more general impressions conveyed in inflated style and diction:

It was evening when we came within view of Friburg, the last city of Germany on the borders of Switzerland, and found ourselves among mountains, which partook of the immensity and sublimity of those of that enchanting country. But what was our emotion, when, from an eminence, we discovered the pointed summits of what we believed to be the Swiss mountains themselves, a multitudinous assemblage rolled in the far-distant prospect! This glimpse of a country of all others in Europe the most astonishing and grand, awakened a thousand interesting recollections and delightful expectations (p. 273).

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, i. 48; journal for October 3, 1801.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, i. 51; journal for October 6, 1801.

There are some passages, to be sure, so detailed and direct, so relatively natural in expression that they are probably transcripts almost unchanged from the original journal:

The moon, bright and nearly at her meridian, shed a strong lustre on the ocean, and gleamed between the sails upon the deck; but the dawn, beginning to glimmer, contended with her light, and, soon touching the waters with a cold grey tint, discovered them spreading all round to the vast horizon. Not a sound broke upon the silence, except the lulling one occasioned by the course of the vessel through the waves, and now and then the drowsy song of the pilot, as he leaned on the helm; his shadowy figure just discerned, and that of a sailor pacing near the head of the ship with crossed arms and a rolling step (p. 367).

Other descriptions, however, have the vagueness and the emphasis on wildness, solitude, and melancholy of *The Mysteries of Udolpho*:

A stream, rolling in its rocky channel, and crossing the road under a rude bridge, was all that broke the solitary silence, or gave animation to the view, except the flocks, that hung upon the precipices, and which, at that height, were scarcely distinguishable from the grey round stones, thickly starting out from the heathy steep. The Highlands of Scotland could scarcely have offered to OSSIAN more images of simple greatness, or more circumstances for melancholy inspiration. Dark glens and fells, the mossy stone, the lonely blast, descending on the valley, the roar of distant torrents every where occurred; and to the bard the "song of spirits" would have swelled with these sounds, and their fleeting forms have appeared in the clouds, that frequently floated along the mountain tops (p. 393).

It appears, then, that Mrs. Radcliffe not only delighted in nature but observed it with a closeness and delicacy that few of her contemporaries shared. When it came to expression, however, she was of the school of Dr. Johnson: "In the morning," she wrote, "were performed the martial exercises, in which emulation was excited by the honorary rewards bestowed on excellence."<sup>6</sup> Even in describing nature she seems to have been influenced by the Great Cham's dictum against numbering the streaks of the tulip. Indeed, a sentence like the following might almost have come out of *Rasselas*:

the eye, fatigued with the extension of its powers, was glad to repose on the verdure of woods and pastures, that now hung on the margin of the river below; to view again the humble cottage shaded by cedars, the playful group of mountaineer children, and the flowery nooks that appeared among the hills.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> *The Castles of Athlin and Dunbayne*, chapter ii.

<sup>7</sup> *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, chapter iv.



Clearly a mistaken conception of literature permeated almost every aspect of her novels, giving them a melodramatic effectiveness but robbing them of reality, simplicity, and that sensitiveness to the natural world which was distinctive of their author. The melancholy, the devotion to solitude, to wild and mountainous regions, and to "that beauty, which, as Milton sings, Hath terror in it" are, like the grandiose diction and style of her stories, not the expression of her personal taste, which favored smiling scenes and simple language, but are in part employed to secure suspense and terror and in part assumed as accoutrements suitable for the Muse.<sup>8</sup>

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VICTOR COUSIN ET LE MS. DES "PENSÉES"  
DE PASCAL

En 1842, Pascal "a éclaté aux esprits." Son entrée fut sensationnelle. Elle provoqua immédiatement une controverse d'une ampleur et d'une vivacité que les années n'ont pas démentie. L'animateur de cette intervention fut Victor Cousin. Spécialiste des surprises littéraires et des esclandres académiques, il ouvrit un débat impétueux autour de la personnalité et l'œuvre de Pascal. Ceci pour détourner l'attention du scandale Théodore Jouffroy dans lequel il avait joué en 1841 le rôle de croque-mitaine au service des bien-pensants. L'année suivante, toujours par intrigue universitaire et piètre politique personnelle, Cousin lance "son Pascal":

\* In the account of her tour through the English lake region Mrs. Radcliffe pays a tribute to the character of the dalesmen whom Wordsworth is accused of idealizing. Her praise is the more impressive because it appeared three years before the publication of *Lyrical Ballads*:

Perhaps, none can immerge themselves in this country of the lakes, without being struck by the superior simplicity and modesty of the people. Secluded from great towns and from examples of selfish splendour, their minds seem to act freely in the sphere of their own affairs, without interruption from envy or triumph, as to those of others. They are obliging, without servility, and plain but not rude, so that, when, in accosting you, they omit the customary appellations, you perceive it to be the familiarity of kindness, not of disrespect; and they do not bend with meanness, or hypocrisy, but shew an independent well meaning, without obtrusiveness and without the hope of more than ordinary gain (p. 397).

Avez-vous reçu mon Pascal? . . . Je désire vivement que vous fassiez mettre dans le journal du gouvernement et dans les journaux constitutionnels de Lyon les lignes qui servent à la fois aux professeurs laïques de l'Université d'apologie et de direction . . . Il y a dans le *Moniteur* d'aujourd'hui un article sur mon Pascal qui témoigne de l'adhésion du gouvernement.<sup>1</sup>

Le ton ne trompe pas. L'intérêt et l'ambition l'ont poussé à exploiter les faiblesses étincelantes du Pascal génial, mélancolique, farouchement fidéiste et pourtant sceptique, qu'il voudrait nous imposer.

C'est le 1<sup>er</sup> avril, à l'occasion d'une séance consacrée au concours ouvert pour l'éloge de Pascal, que Victor Cousin entame la lecture de son "Rapport à l'Académie Française sur la nécessité d'une nouvelle édition des *Pensées* de Pascal." Le Rapport marque l'apothéose romantique et sceptique de Pascal: le poète de l'angoisse y rejoint le sublime irrationnel de Voltaire. On y distingue trois parts: une défense de l'enseignement cousinien et universitaire, une étude sur la personnalité de la pensée et de l'homme chez Pascal, enfin une analyse scientifique des *Pensées* permettant de formuler les directives essentielles à leur publication. Nous ferons de sérieuses réserves sur quelques prétentions de Cousin, mais on ne saurait trop répéter qu'il imprima un élan irrésistible aux études pascaliennes en attirant l'attention sur le problème capital du ms. des *Pensées*:

Que dirait-on si le manuscrit original de Platon était à la connaissance de tout le monde, dans une bibliothèque publique, et que, au lieu d'y recourir et de réformer le texte convenu sur le texte vrai, les éditeurs continuassent de se copier les uns sur les autres . . . ? Voilà pourtant ce qui arrive aux *Pensées* de Pascal. Le manuscrit autographe subsiste; il est à la Bibliothèque royale de Paris.<sup>2</sup>

En effet, le ms. original Fonds 9202 (à ne pas confondre avec sa précieuse copie Fonds 9203) fut déposé par Louis-Augustin Périer à la bibliothèque de l'abbaye Saint-Germain-des-Prés en 1711, d'où il passa en 1794 à la Bibliothèque Nationale. Il est exact que ce ms. resta quelque peu négligé jusqu'à la fameuse édition Faugère de 1844—édition que Cousin avait encouragée et appelée de ses vœux en 1842 pour la critiquer méchamment lors de sa parution. Grâce, donc, à la découverte de nombreux textes originaux, Cousin

<sup>1</sup> Latreille, C., *Francisque Bouillier*. Paris, Hachette, 1907, 186-9.

<sup>2</sup> Cousin, *Etudes sur Pascal*. Paris, Didier, 1857, 5<sup>e</sup> éd., 110-1.

révéla Pascal à l'étonnement universel. Il profita de l'autorité de sa trouvaille pour imposer son cachet à l'apologiste, étant convaincu que personne n'aurait l'outrecuidance de lui reprocher sa critique de Pascal du moment qu'il prouvait sa fidélité en rétablissant le texte véritable des *Pensées*. Néanmoins, son interprétation sceptique provoqua une hostilité immédiate. violemment pris à partie, il fut même obligé en 1844, dans la Préface de la 2<sup>e</sup> édition de ses *Etudes sur Pascal*, de retirer ou d'adoucir ses généralités les plus fougueuses. Or, il est très curieux de constater que la prétention de Victor Cousin d'avoir découvert, ou plutôt 'redécouvert' le ms. original des *Pensées* n'ait pas été contestée.

Se pouvait-il qu'un tel ms. demeurât totalement ignoré? Cousin fut-il réellement, comme il nous le laisse entendre, le premier au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle à le consulter? Pas du tout. Et c'est ici qu'il dévoile, sinon sa mauvaise foi, du moins la suffisance avec laquelle il rejette toute contribution portant ombrage à la sienne. On a toujours admis que Cousin, quelque abusive que fût son interprétation de Pascal, eut au moins la vertu d'avoir découvert le ms. des *Pensées*. Il n'en est rien.

Une note dans les *Carnets* de Joubert met en doute la priorité de Cousin, elle est datée du 2 avril 1803 :

"Le trop vite" "le trop lentement" de Pascal. . . . Voyez le manuscrit de ses pensées que j'ai vu pour la première fois le samedi 26, revu et lu le lundi 28 mars de cette année.<sup>2</sup>

Il est entendu qu'en deux jours il aura seulement parcouru le ms. Mais il reste qu'il l'a vu et qu'il a jugé bon d'en consigner la lecture. Joubert, critique si juste et si fin, était un être d'une noble civilité, un homme qui avait le don de partager et d'offrir ses réflexions aux autres—le ton du passage cité est indicatif. Peut-être le ms. lui avait-il été signalé; peut-être l'a-t-il décrit à son entourage. En tout cas, il paraît également en 1803 l'édition Renouard des *Pensées*—édition de chevet de Maine de Biran, J. de Maistre, Lamennais, et probablement de Chateaubriand aussi. Très populaire, réimprimée plusieurs fois, elle fut pour les premiers pascalisants de l'époque romantique ce que la petite édition Brunschvicg est encore pour nous aujourd'hui. Or, dans sa Préface l'éditeur se réfère au ms. original et dit l'avoir consulté. Nous n'avons aucune raison de mettre sa parole en doute. Par contre, vu la diffusion de cette édition, nous

<sup>2</sup> *Les Carnets*, p. par Beaunier. Paris, Gallimard, 1938, I, 376.

avons de bons motifs pour penser que Cousin la connaît et qu'il feint d'ignorer la priorité des autres.

Un examen de l'édition Lefèvre 1819 et de ses nombreuses réimpressions confirme notre soupçon. Cette édition—la plus importante entre celle de Renouard, dont elle est essentiellement une copie, et celle due à Faugère—contient dans son Avertissement un paragraphe compromettant pour Victor Cousin :

Les manuscrits originaux [des *Pensées*] sont à la Bibliothèque royale: ils y furent transportés en 1794. . . . Ce n'est qu'après avoir soigneusement comparé entre elles et avec les manuscrits toutes ces diverses éditions, que j'ai livré à l'impression l'exemplaire sur lequel se trouvaient toutes les corrections et additions qui ont été le fruit de mes recherches, aidées d'un examen réfléchi.<sup>4</sup>

Aussi, après avoir maintes fois répété: "qu'aucun des nombreux éditeurs des *Pensées* n'avait encore eu la curiosité de consulter le ms.,"<sup>5</sup> Cousin est forcément amené à se dédire. Il avoue que Berthou, responsable de l'édition Lefèvre, prétend avoir étudié le ms. Mais avec une habileté déconcertante qui frise la malhonnêteté, il fait bon marché de son prédécesseur.<sup>6</sup> Il soutient posément que le texte de 1819 montrant peu de progrès sur les anciennes leçons, l'éditeur n'a pas vraiment consulté le ms. Il aurait dû s'en tenir à constater que l'éditeur avait fait un médiocre usage du ms., au lieu d'affirmer qu'il ne l'avait pas vu. L'attitude entière et blessante de Cousin est caractéristique. Sa vanité ne souffrait pas le voisinage, sa gloire n'admettait pas le partage.

Cousin ne s'arrête pas en si bon chemin. Il avance avec la même assurance: "qu'il n'y a pas un critique qui se soit avisé que le texte reçu des *Pensées* ne fût pas le texte authentique de Pascal."<sup>7</sup> Est-il possible que Sainte-Beuve et son bizarre collègue Libri aient ignoré l'intérêt du ms. original? Quoiqu'il en soit, en 1825 un article de Th. Foisset dans les *Annales de Philosophie chrétienne* (XI, 7) attirait justement l'attention sur les infidélités existantes et sur la nécessité de se rapporter au ms. lui-même. Bien d'autres ont dû étudier l'original. Malheureusement nous n'en avons plus trace: la Bibliothèque Royale ne tenait pas de registre permanent où les lecteurs des mss. de la Grande Réserve auraient émargé.

<sup>4</sup> Pascal, *Œuvres*. Paris, Lefèvre, 1819, I.

<sup>5</sup> Cousin, *op. cit.*, p. x.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, note p. 237-9.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, I.

Il est patent que Cousin ment. Il ignorait probablement le témoignage de Joubert, à la rigueur celui de Renouard, mais pas celui de l'édition Lefèvre puisqu'il a pris la peine de le réfuter. Pourquoi ment-il? Par manie prioritaire et pour rehausser le prestige de sa philosophie laïque et républicaine qu'il oppose à la réaction mystique et sceptique dont Pascal serait le champion. A tout moment le célèbre universitaire confond l'interprétation de Pascal avec la défense de Victor Cousin.

Le désordre du ms. des *Pensées* a longtemps rebuté les chercheurs. Il est bon cependant de rappeler que l'intérêt dans le ms. des *Pensées* ne date pas de 1842. Victor Cousin a suffisamment de titres à notre reconnaissance sans usurper celui de découvreur d'un ms. sur lequel l'érudition s'est de tout temps penchée enthousiaste, déroutée, confiante dans les ressources de sa patience, et constamment fascinée.

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#### L'ABBÉ PRÉVOST AND THE GENDER OF NEW ORLEANS

In the concluding pages of his *Histoire du Chevalier Des Grieux et de Manon Lescaut* Prévost refers to New Orleans as "le Nouvel Orléans," as in the following: "une troupe de citoyens du Nouvel-Orléans," "C'est au Nouvel-Orléans qu'il faut venir," "Nous nous trouvions dans le Nouvel-Orléans," "je vis arriver un vaisseau que des affaires de commerce amenait au Nouvel-Orléans," "un passage facile au Nouvel-Orléans," and "Nous avons passé deux mois ensemble au Nouvel-Orléans."

Etymologically the name *Orléans* should be masculine in French. Longnon says: "Plus rares encore sont les noms de lieu dont le thème étymologique présente le suffixe -anus sous sa forme masculine plurielle; toutefois, il en existe un spécimen bien connu: Orléans (Loiret) répond au latin Aureliani; jusqu'au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle on disait *Orliens* et *Olliens*; la forme actuelle est l'effet d'une réaction savante."<sup>1</sup> The name in French is, therefore, masculine and presumably its derivative in the New World should have kept

<sup>1</sup> Longnon, A., *Les Noms de Lieu de la France*, Paris, Champion, 1920, p. 92.

the same gender. Yet the name of the American city has apparently been feminine in French since its existence and even before.

The exact date for the founding of the city of New Orleans has not been determined and the pertinent information on that subject can be read in le Baron de Villiers' discussion.<sup>2</sup> De Villiers seems to indicate a preference for the year 1718. There are in existence certain documents connected with the birth of the city which suggest strongly that the name *La Nouvelle Orléans* was chosen for it even before the work of construction had begun. De Villiers cites a document (p. 18) dated October 1, 1717, which names Bonnaud as "garde-magasin" and "caissier au comptoir qui doit être établi à la Nouvelle-Orléans sur le fleuve Saint-Louis." Another document quoted by him but which is without date gives the name and at the same time reveals that work on the project had probably not begun (p. 19):

9°. Résolu qu'on établirait, à trente lieues en haut du fleuve, un bourg que l'on nommerait la Nouvelle-Orléans, où l'on pourrait aborder par le fleuve et par le lac Pontchartrain.

De Villiers feels that it was Bienville and l'Epinay who gave the name to the city in a now lost *Rapport* to the Conseil de la Marine, written during the month of May, 1717, concerning the new posts which they felt it wise to establish in this country.

Another document of the same nature, dated the 14th of April, 1718, consists of instructions for M. Perrier, engineer in chief of Louisiana.

En remontant le fleuve jusqu'à l'endroit où MM. les Directeurs généraux jugeront qu'il faut jeter les fondements de la Nouvelle-Orléans, il est nécessaire, qu'il fasse le mieux qu'il pourra, une carte du cours du fleuve. . . . Nous ignorons l'endroit que l'on choisira pour l'établissement de la Nouvelle-Orléans. . . . Fait à Paris, en l'Hospital de la Compagnie d'Occident, le 14 avril, 1718.<sup>3</sup>

Finally, Charlevoix indicates that the name was feminine from its earliest days. In his letter of January 10, 1722, he says: "Me voici enfin arrivé dans cette fameuse Ville, qu'on a nommée *la Nouvelle Orléans*. Ceux qui ont donné ce nom, croyoient qu'

<sup>2</sup> *Histoire de la Fondation de la Nouvelle Orléans*, Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1917.

<sup>3</sup> Margry, P., *Mémoires et Documents*, Paris, Maisonneuve, 1887, v, 604-5.



Orléans est du genre féminin : mais qu'importe ? l'usage est établi, et il est au-dessus des règles de la Grammaire."<sup>4</sup>

Whatever the date of the city's founding might be, it seems certain that the name for it had been chosen previously and that it has always been *la Nouvelle Orléans*. Just why the name was made feminine is a mystery for which various solutions can only be postulated until more evidence comes to light.

Similarly, there remains unanswered the question as to why Prévost corrected the name to the masculine form some ten years or more after the feminine name was known both in France and in the New World. It is all the more surprising to find the masculine form in the edition of 1753, for this edition is not just a reprint but a corrected and revised version of the first edition of his famous novel.

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#### OE OMA 'RUST'

The Old English dictionaries carry two related nouns with the element *óm-*: the strong masculine, *óm* "rust," and the weak plural *óman* "erysipelas, eruptions of the skin." This latter Hall<sup>1</sup> marks as feminine, basing this definition on his entry for the compound *heals-óme* "neck tumour," to which he directs attention. In so describing *heals-óme* Hall is undoubtedly merely following the entry in Bosworth-Toller<sup>2</sup> which lists the noun as feminine, indicating as source *Leechdoms* III. 4, 26. In the *Supplement*,<sup>3</sup> however, Toller thought better of this: the designation of gender is dropped, and uncertainty is expressed as to the form to which the *-óman* part is to be referred:

<sup>4</sup> P. de Charlevoix, *Journal d'un Voyage*, Paris, Nyon, 1744, VI, 192.

<sup>1</sup> John R. Clark Hall, *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, 3rd. ed., Cambridge, 1931.

<sup>2</sup> Joseph Bosworth and T. Northcote Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, Oxford, 1898.

<sup>3</sup> T. Northcote Toller, *Supplement to An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, Oxford, 1921.

1. heals-óme (or -óman; pl., only plural forms of the simple word seem to occur. v. -óman).

Toller then provides the *Leechdom* quotation: Se man se ðe biþ on healsome nime healswyrþ. This may be translated as "Let the man who has an eruption on his neck take halswort."

The strong form *óm* is one of two common words for "rust," *rust* being the other. One source for the literary occurrence of the word "rust" is the famous passage in Matt. 6, 19-20: "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth." The *West Saxon Gospels* in translating *ærugo* regularly show *óm*; the *Lindisfarne Gospels* have *rust* and *hrust* and *Rushworth om*.<sup>4</sup> The same gospel passage occurs in Ælfric's homily for the First Sunday in Lent in the second series of the so-called *Catholic Homilies*. The passage in Thorpe runs as follows:<sup>5</sup>

[19] Ne behyde ge eowerne goldhord on eorðan þær ðær ómm 7 moððan hit awestað, . . . [20] ac hórdiað eowerne goldhord on heofenum, þær ne cymð to ne óm ne moððe.

This homily has been preserved in full form in ten<sup>6</sup> manuscripts, certain of whose variant readings afford evidence for the currency of the weak masculine form *óma*<sup>7</sup> "rust." Five manuscripts read *óm* in both verses (*Cambridge University Library, Ii. 4. 6, Bodley 340, Hatton 114*,<sup>8</sup> *Junius 85, Cotton Faustina A. IX*), while two manuscripts show variant spellings of this same strong form: *ómm* and *óm*, as in Thorpe (*Cambridge University Library Gg. 3-28*,

<sup>4</sup> *The Gospel According to St Matthew*, ed. Walter W. Skeat, (Cambridge, 1887), pp. 56-7.

<sup>5</sup> Benjamin Thorpe, *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, Part I: *The Sermones Catholici, or The Homilies of Ælfric* (London, 1846), II, 104.29-32.

<sup>6</sup> The eleventh manuscript, *Bodleian 342*, contains but the concluding part of this discourse, and thus does not preserve the translation of Matt. 6, 19-20.

<sup>7</sup> The accent marks in this paragraph are those of the manuscripts.

<sup>8</sup> This is the manuscript of Wulfstan's Homily LV (ed. Arthur Napier, *Wulfstan* (Berlin, 1882), pp. 282-9. In this discourse Wulfstan combines two portions of Ælfric's homily for the First Sunday in Lent, Second Series (Thorpe, II, 98-108) with other matter, plus an introduction of his own. Toller, *Supplement*, s. v. *óm*, cites from Wulfstan's version of Ælfric (*Wulfstan*, 286.32) what had already been cited in Bosworth-Toller, s. v. *óm*, as from Thorpe (II, 104.29).

Thorpe's manuscript), and *óom* in both verses (*Corpus Christi College Cambridge* 198). Three manuscripts however have weak forms: two with a strong form in one verse and a weak in the other, perhaps in the interest of variety: *óm* and *ómo* (*Corpus Christi College Cambridge* 178) and *oma* and *om* (*Corpus Christi College Cambridge* 302); one manuscript has weak forms, both plural; *óoman* and *óman* (*Corpus Christi College Cambridge* 162). These *n*-forms of *C C C C* 162 are undoubtedly equal to *óman*, usually glossed "erysipelas, erysipelatous inflammation," as Bosworth-Toller has it; here the form is to be taken as "rust," in the sense of "rust spots," hence the plural.

On this evidence we should add to the weak forms now assembled under *óman* the singular form, masculine, *óma* or *ómo*, "rust," and the plurals *óman* and *óoman*, "rust, rust spots."

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#### A TEXTUAL DIFFICULTY IN HEINE: *CHEVETS*

In Chapter XVI of Heine's *Reise von München nach Genua*<sup>1</sup> the following sentence occurs as part of the description of the old fruit-vendor encountered by the author in the streets of Trent:

Sie war freilich schon etwas in jenem Alter, wo die Zeit unsere Dienstjahre mit fatalen Chevets auf die Stirne anzeichnet; jedoch dafür war sie auch desto korpulenter, und was sie an Jugend eingeüsst, das hatte sie an Gewicht gewonnen.

All, apparently, of the printed editions reproduce the above text, being in this respect in conformity with the first edition of the third part of the *Reisebilder*,<sup>2</sup> which Heine seems to have accepted as definitive for the part of the text that concerns us.<sup>3</sup>

The passage in question is clear enough, except for the French word *Chevets*, which presents serious difficulties. Littré in his

<sup>1</sup> Heine, H., *Werke*, hrsg. v. Ernst Elster. Ed. 2, rev. 4 vols., Leipzig, Bibliographisches Institut. N.d.; IV, 182.

<sup>2</sup> *Reisebilder von H. Heine*. Dritter Theil. Hamburg, bey Hoffmann und Campe. 1830.

<sup>3</sup> Heine, *Werke*; hrsg. v. Ernst Elster. 7 vols. Leipzig, Bibliogr. Inst. N.d.; III, 533.

*Dictionnaire* and *Supplément* gives a number of definitions for *chevet* (diminutive of *chef*, Lat. *caput*), none of which (bed-head, bolster, bedside dagger, church apse, etc.) is applicable to Heine's sentence; and Elster, in his second edition of the *Werke*,<sup>4</sup> suggests the possibility of an error.

It would indeed seem that the reading *Chevets* is erroneous, and the purpose of this Note is to propose that in place of *Chevets* the French word that should appear is *Chevrons*, one of the acceptations of which Littré defines in these terms:

Chevron . . . Nom de deux morceaux de galon que les soldats portent joints en angle au bras gauche de leur habit, pour marquer leur temps de service,

with the following quotation from Victor Hugo as an example:

. . . Mon père,  
Fier vétéran âgé de quarante ans de guerre,  
Tout chargé de chevrons . . .

That is to say, the *chevron* is the soldier's armstripe or insignia, the very symbol of long and faithful service. If in Heine's description we read *Chevrons* instead of *Chevets*, the image immediately becomes clear: the visible insignia of the old woman's years of service (*Dienstjahre*) are the wrinkles on her brow, the very appearance of which calls to mind the V-shaped *chevron* of the veteran soldier.

The question concerning the origin of the error remains unanswered. The most likely explanation is that Heine himself confused the French vocables *chevet* and *chevron*.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> See note 1 above. IV, 182, footnote; also *Anmerkung*, IV, 523.

<sup>5</sup> The problem of Heine's use of *chevet* in the passage quoted was brought to my attention by Professor Barker Fairley. Since the above article was written Professor Fairley has noted another use of the word *chevet* in Heine, this time as a proper name, in *Französische Zustände* Artikel I (ed. Elster V, 28): "während unten Herr Chevet seine Würste verkaufte . . ." This latter passage, Professor Fairley thinks, may indicate that by the time it was written Heine knew the meaning of *chevet*; its date (1831) is later than that of the passage in the *Reise nach Genua* (c. 1828); Heine had since moved to Paris and was learning French daily.

## BROWNING'S POMEGRANATE HEART

In *Lady Geraldine's Courtship* (1844), Elizabeth Barrett joined the name of Robert Browning with those of Wordsworth and Tennyson, likening his poetry to

. . . some "Pomegranate" which, if cut deep down the middle,  
Shows a heart within blood-tinctured of a veined humanity.

The image associates the pomegranate's juicy, scarlet pulp with the richly human heart of the man who was to play Perseus to her Andromeda. It had obviously been suggested to her by the title of the *Bells and Pomegranates* pamphlets which had begun to appear in 1841. As one of the few admirers of *Sordello*, she might also have noticed the "sanguine-heart pomegranate blooms" in III, 356. We shall meet again this association of the pomegranate's blood-red heart with its blood-red blossom.

Everyone knows that Browning was delighted by her praise and was easily encouraged by Kenyon to address his first letter to her. But no one, I believe, has observed that he was equally delighted by the metaphor through which the compliment was expressed. On June 25, 1845, he wrote to Elizabeth: "Pomegranates you may cut deep down the middle and see into, but not hearts—so why should I try and speak?"<sup>1</sup> Here he directly quotes Elizabeth's words although he playfully suggests that the figure cannot be pressed too literally.

By the date of this letter Browning had already published six numbers of *Bells and Pomegranates*, but we may conjecture that since 1844 the latter half of the title had acquired more than Rabbinical significance for him. In Number VII of *Bells and Pomegranates* (*Dramatic Romances and Lyrics*, 1845), "The Englishman in Italy" tells the Italian child,

Red-ripe as could be  
Pomegranates were chapping and splitting  
In halves on the tree.

The foregoing lines may seem to have no bearing on Robert and Elizabeth, but consider them in relation to Browning's famous tribute to his dead wife at the close of Book I of *The Ring and the Book*:

<sup>1</sup> *Letters of R. B. and E. B. B.* (New York, 1899), I, 109.

O lyric Love, half angel and half bird,

Yet human at the red-ripe of the heart.

No pomegranate is mentioned, but when the line which I have italicized is set beside the passages already quoted there can be no doubt that the bereaved Browning is returning the compliment which Elizabeth had paid him in 1844.

It is universally accepted that Balaustion, delightful champion of "Euripides the human," is none other than Elizabeth. But Balaustion is not the girl's real name:

We only call her Wild-pomegranate-flower,  
Balaustion; since, where'er the red bloom burns  
I' the dull dark verdure of the bounteous tree,  
Dethroning, in the Rosy Isle, the rose,  
You shall find food, drink, odor all at once;  
Cool leaves to bind about an aching brow,  
And, never much away, the nightingale.<sup>2</sup>

Here the pomegranate metaphor which Elizabeth applied to Browning is directed back to her memory with a rich increment of praise.

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#### HOWELLS'S VENETIAN PRIEST

When William Dean Howells turned from writing fictionalized travel to produce his first full-blown novel, *A Foregone Conclusion* (1875), he drew his leading character from a priest he had known in Venice during the Civil War. Although the identity of this priest must have been well known to Howells's friends and family, Mildred Howells misidentified Don Ippolito's prototype when she edited her father's letters.<sup>1</sup> The model for Howells's protagonist was not Padre Giacomio Issaverdenz, a member of the Armenian monastery at San Lazzaro and a life-long friend of the Howells family, but the priest who led the American consul's faltering steps through Dante's *Divina Commedia*.

<sup>2</sup> *Balaustion's Adventure*, lines 207-213. See also line 263, and *Aristophanes' Apology*, line 524.

<sup>1</sup> Mildred Howells (ed.), *Life in Letters of William Dean Howells* (Garden City, N. Y., 1928), I, 192.



The correct identification may be found in the cramped handwriting of Howells's old age under a photograph of a Venetian priest in a family album now in the Howells collection at Harvard. There the prototype of Don Ippolito is named—Padre Libera, the same priest Howells had described, though not identified, to H. H. Boyesen in an interview which appeared as the opening paper in the first issue of *McClure's Magazine*. On that occasion Howells had recalled studying Dante with a Venetian priest, and he added: "This priest in certain ways suggested Don Ippolito . . . what interested me most about him was his religious skepticism. He used to say, 'The saints are the gods baptized.' Then he was a baffled inventor; though whether his inventions had the least merit I was unable to determine."<sup>2</sup>

Further evidence that Padre Libera was the original of the fictional priest may be found by comparing parallel passages from an essay which Howells wrote in 1870 describing the last fourteen months that he lived in Venice—a sort of sequel to *Venetian Life* (1866)—with *A Foregone Conclusion*.<sup>3</sup> In the former passage Padre L——'s apartment, as seen by Consul Howells, with its frescoed anteroom, oratory turned smithy, and litter of chemical apparatus and inventions is described in almost the same terms used to depict Don Ippolito's quarters when visited by Consul Ferris in the novel.

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#### "THE PARDONER'S TALE": ANOTHER ANALOGUE

That "The Pardoner's Tale" is but one telling of a story which has had wide circulation in time and place is common knowledge to all students of Chaucer. Originating in the Orient, this narrative

<sup>2</sup> "Real Conversations—a Dialogue between William Dean Howells and Hjalmar Hjorth Boyesen," *McClure's Magazine*, I (June, 1893), 6. A similar reference to this inventor-priest occurs in *Italian Journeys* (1867), in which Howells says, speaking of a replica of the Pantheon built by Canova as a church in his native Possagno: "I remembered how Padre L—— had said to me in Venice, 'Our saints are only the old gods baptized and christened anew'" (Boston, New and Enlarged Edition, 1877, p. 282).

<sup>3</sup> "A Year in a Venetian Palace," *Atlantic*, xxvii (Jan., 1871), 1-14; reprinted in the 1872 and subsequent editions of *Venetian Life*. Cf. *A Foregone Conclusion* (Boston, 1875), pp. 47-51.

of the treasure that brings death was known on the Continent during the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries in Italian, French, Portuguese, and German versions; and in Latin collections of *exempla* it was probably set down even earlier.<sup>1</sup> In our own day, moreover, stories by Rudyard Kipling<sup>2</sup> and Jack London<sup>3</sup> have been cited as parallels. Another analogue which, I believe, has hitherto been unnoticed was published in *The New Yorker* several years ago.<sup>4</sup>

Set a few years ago in the neighborhood of Paradise Lake, Connecticut, it is the tale of two men, Erwin Burke and Francis Jeffers, who are partners in a New York exporting company and who spend their week-ends at Burke's lakeside cabin. Both are in their forties, and to the villagers who get to know them as they stop for groceries on their way to the lake they seem utterly harmless. As war comes on and their business declines, they engage in considerable refinancing and in seeking new domestic outlets. They also take out \$40,000 life insurance policies, each naming the other as his beneficiary. Burke and Jeffers continue their visits to the cabin during the autumn and winter, and once they are come upon by a villager who learns from talking with them that their friendship is on the surface, that there are deep currents of hostility beneath. On the first week-end in February they come to Paradise Lake for the last time, presumably to do some winter fishing. As usual, they stop for provisions at the village store on Friday evening. Next morning, they go to the lake, build a three-cornered windbreak, and dig a hole in the ice. Burke pushes Jeffers in, strikes him with an ice-axe until he is dead, and then pulls his body from the water and leaves it in the shelter. He then goes to the cabin. As he is about to enter, he is killed by a blast from a shotgun that Jeffers had wedged against a chair, its muzzle aimed at the doorway and its trigger tripped by a cord tied to the latch.

<sup>1</sup> Carleton Brown, ed. *The Pardoner's Tale* (Oxford, 1935), pp. xxi-xxviii; Frederick Tupper, "The Pardoner's Tale," pp. 415-38 in *Sources and Analogues of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*, edd. W. F. Bryan and Germaine Dempster (Chicago, 1941).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Atlantic Monthly* LXXXIV (1899), 714-6; W. M. Hart, *Kipling the Story-writer* (Berkeley, 1918), pp. 144-52.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Whitney Wells, "A New Analogue to the *Pardoner's Tale*," *MLN* XL (1925), 58-9.

<sup>4</sup> Robert M. Coates, "Winter Fishing," *The New Yorker*, March 6, 1943, pp. 21-5.

"Winter Fishing" differs from other versions of the tale in its narrative technique: the use of a minor character who tells the story in the first person, and the absence of suspense effected through the statement in the very first sentence of the story that the two men were killed. It is also unlike "The Pardoner's Tale" in that it treats two, not three, comrades. But it resembles Chaucer's story in the clear differentiation of the characters, and its theme is, of course, the same. Here, however, the fourteenth-century florins have been replaced by twentieth-century life insurance policies, and the dagger and the poisoned wine give way to an ice-axe and a shotgun.<sup>5</sup>

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THE PARDONER'S TALE AND THE TREASURE OF THE  
SIERRA MADRE

That Chaucer's *Pardoner's Tale* is a comparatively late specimen of an ancient and widely spread folk tale has long been acknowledged. Antti Aarne in *The Types of the Folk-Tale*, no. 763, describes it under the general heading, "*The Treasure Finders Who Murder One Another*."<sup>1</sup> Carleton Brown's convenient edition presents a number of the analogues and reminds us of the fact that there are two general types of the story, the two-companion and the three-companion versions.<sup>2</sup>

Since folklorists and students of narrative generally are interested in modern as well as ancient parallels to long-established tales, attention may be called to Bruno Traven's *Treasure of the*

<sup>5</sup> It may not be amiss to note here two recent parallels to "The Pardoner's Prologue." The "gaude" by which the Pardoner tricked his hearers is called to mind by a story from Germany (*Time*, July 14, 1947, p. 26), though the aim of the German pastor there was altogether worthy. And the Massachusetts "miracle-cell" of the summer of 1948 (*Time*, August 2, 1948, pp. 56-7) is reminiscent of the Pardoner's relics.

<sup>1</sup> *FF Communications*, no. 74 (Helsinki, 1928), p. 121.

<sup>2</sup> *The Prioress's Tale* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1935), pp. xxii ff. For fuller treatment and bibliographical data cf. Frederick Tupper, "The Pardoner's Tale," in W. F. Bryan and G. Dempster, *Sources and Analogues of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941), pp. 415-38.

*Sierra Madre*, a novel originally published in German in 1927 as *Der Schatz der Sierra Madre* and later translated into several European languages as well as into English.<sup>3</sup> It has more recently become widely known as one of the more highly regarded films of the 1948 season. The plot of the book is rather striking as a kind of blend of the traditional types. Dobbs and Curtin, adventurers of none-too-admirable character, work briefly in a Mexican oil field, are very nearly cheated out of their earnings by an unscrupulous boss, are thus thrown together as companions, and, joined by an older and more experienced man, Howard, go off to the mountains prospecting for gold. Working for several months under trying conditions, they succeed in finding enough of the precious metal so that each will have several thousand dollars' reward for his labors. Finally they start back down the mountains with their treasure. The trio is broken up when Howard administers artificial respiration to an Indian boy and so impresses his elders thereby that they consider him a medicine man and take him prisoner. The other two continue the journey, but before long the rascally Dobbs announces his plan of making a two-fold division of the treasure, though shortly after leaving Howard they had agreed to keep his third until he should rejoin them in the city. Curtin is shocked by Dobbs' suggestion and is even more amazed when the latter accuses him of planning to kill him (Dobbs) in order that he may appropriate the whole treasure. The inevitable struggle ensues; Dobbs shoots and presumably kills Curtin and appears to have all the gold at his command. He is severely plagued by his conscience, however, and is ultimately decapitated by three bandits, who think the gold is only sand and throw it by the roadside where it is washed away by a rainstorm. It eventually turns out that Curtin did not actually die but, in so far as the plot proper is concerned, this fact does not alter the essential character of the narrative.

There is of course a mass of detail in the novel not even suggested by the preceding summary but, fundamentally, the story is a close analogue of the general type best known through the *Pardoner's Tale*.

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<sup>3</sup>The English translation I have used is by Basil Creighton (London: Jonathan Cape, 1948); it appeared originally in 1934.

## A PARALLEL THAT IS NOT A BORROWING

Geoffrey Tillotson in a recent study, "Newman's Essay on Poetry,"<sup>1</sup> quotes the following comment of Newman's on Thomson's *Seasons*: "A poet may make natural history or philosophy the material of his composition. But under his hands they are no longer a bare collection of facts or principles, but are painted with a meaning, beauty, and harmonious order not their own." At the conclusion of the fifth book of *The Prelude*, Wordsworth wrote that in poetry

Even forms and substances are circumfused  
By that transparent veil [poetry] with light divine,  
And, through the turnings intricate of verse,  
Present themselves as objects recognized,  
In flashes, and with glory not their own.

Although these verses were not published until 1850, manuscripts of them exist that were written in 1806 so that they could not have been influenced by Newman's essays, which appeared in January, 1829. Nor is there any reason to believe that Newman saw the lines before they were printed. Yet the two passages express the same unusual idea—that poetry presents natural objects with a meaning, or glory, not their own—and end with the same simple but striking phrase. The similarities, though almost certainly due to chance, are closer than most of the parallels on which many, all too many, articles submitted to learned journals are based.

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<sup>1</sup> *Perspectives in Criticism*, Cambridge, Mass., 1950, p. 184.

## REVIEWS

*Judaic Lore in Heine.* By ISRAEL TABAK. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1948. Pp. xii + 338. \$4.50.

A subject which might have tempted a lesser scholar into dry cataloguing or flamboyant propaganda has perhaps for the first time met with treatment combining objectivity with empathy in proper proportions. The question of Heine as a specifically Jewish poet has been battled over from the earliest days of Heine research. Indeed, as Dr. Tabak implies, the poet himself trumpeted an invitation to the tournament and then entered the lists on opposing sides! Dr. Tabak, however, sees the central problem as the significance of Heine's origin to his personality and work,—something quite different from deciding whether he was “a Jewish poet or a German poet.” Rather does he offer us a thorough examination of early religious training and later reading (e.g., Bible and Talmud) in the light of their discoverable precipitation in his works, correspondence and conversation.

The result is not merely “convincing,”—it is *revealing* and, by weight of accumulated evidence, broadens one's grasp of the Jewish aspects of Heine's creativity. A few minor devices might have sharpened Dr. Tabak's formulation; for instance, quoted passages are identified solely through a volume-and-page reference to the Elster edition of Heine's works, whereas some indication of the specific work quoted would have added much significance. While, to be sure, the specialist will have Elster at hand and can stop to trace each reference, the impression Tabak gives is undeniably a much looser one than he intended, from a chronological or developmental point of view. Similarly, references to letters are merely to pages in Hirth's *Briefwechsel*, where a date would have been simple and more to the point.

The chapter on figures of speech suffers loss of readability from a heaping of evidence without commentary. Where examples are illuminating, they might have been rendered more so with some notations, e.g. as to periodicity of Biblical influence.

Again, there seems to be a loss of momentum from paralleling Heine's German with the Biblical source quoted in English. The Luther translation might have gone beyond idea-content to possible direct verbal or stylistic influence on Heine's diction. The reviewer wondered also whether, in places, the term “Judaic” could not have been interpreted liberally enough for the author to have absolved himself from trying to detect whether every New Testament passage which seems reflected in Heine's work did not also appear in the Talmudic books. Heine could hardly have known all



of these passages as thoroughly or as intimately in their Talmudic Hebrew as in their German Biblical form.

More point could have been made of some of Heine's mental characteristics than Dr. Tabak emboldens himself to make. Perhaps he felt this lay apart from his real theme. In Chapter iv on "Folklore and Folkways," for instance, Little Samson (in *Schnabelwopski*), seen against the backdrop of the Bible's Samson, might help establish a pattern of "similarity-in-contrast" as characteristic for Heine as polarity for Goethe, antithesis for Schiller. And this for both tragic and comic, sublime and ridiculous effect. The reader is increasingly impressed with Heine's deep insight into the human side of the Bible. As we might expect, Heine is anything but hidebound in his interpretations. His *Spürsinn* for the human values hidden in the complexities and obscurities of the Talmud, behind symbol and allegory, surprises one somewhat more. Here we must mention Dr. Tabak's valuable appendices; especially interesting is Appendix A (1): Heine's "Biblical" Poetry (*i.e.*, dealing with Biblical themes or expressions). The upshot is proof of the deep ingraining of Jewish folklore and mores in Heine's mental make-up. Dr. Tabak does not stop here; he places Heine in the framework of specifically Jewish romanticism. His chapter on "Judaism and Romanticism" is new and challenging in its interpretation of both.

Dr. Tabak displays some tendency to *overexplain* inconsistencies, hence to overemphasize Heine's "Zerrissenheit" by capitalizing on that convenient but never very satisfying verbal stereotype. This is righted toward the end of his study by stating, without too much proof, Heine's "stand on Judaism as a definite and valuable culture," but the earlier impression of Heine's wavering on the topic is—possibly by design—not thereby obliterated.

An important "Postscript" offers a sweeping critique of previous Heine studies as having omitted the "Hebraic mortar" and sees his creativity, his satire and wit, as specifically Jewish (I assume in a "traditional" not "racial" sense). This postscript also assays Heine's contribution as a blender of Judaic culture with Western ideas to help create the alloy known as European civilization.

Slighting few if any really important facets of the subject, Dr. Tabak has given us a stimulating reestimate and, in many respects, a pioneering assessment of the Judaic vein in Heine's personality and works.

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*La Genèse d'Esther & d'Athalie.* Par JEAN ORCIBAL. Paris: J. Vrin, 1950. Pp. 152.

The main contention of this book is that Racine wrote *Esther* and *Athalie* not merely to please Mme de Maintenon and to express himself again in dramatic form, but with a definite charitable or political purpose in mind. *Esther* becomes a plea for the persecuted Filles de l'Enfance; *Athalie* for the infant son of James II. Now to establish such contentions there is need of external evidence supplied by the author or by someone close to him, or of internal evidence strong enough to be apparent to the writer's contemporaries. In the case of *Esther* it was supposed at the time and has since been generally accepted that this Biblical subject was selected rather than another because Esther, Assuérus, and "l'altière Vasthi" found themselves in the position of Mme de Maintenon, Louis XIV, and Mme de Montespan. It was also suggested that Aman represented Louvois. As the latter was opposed to Mme de Maintenon, M. Orcibal seems inclined to accept this identification, though the evidence seems to me insufficient to make us believe Racine bold enough to suggest that Louvois should be hanged as high as Haman.

All this has been often discussed. What is new is M. Orcibal's contention that the Jeunes Filles Israélites of the chorus represent a group of nuns, persecuted by the Jesuits and defended by Arnauld. Racine appears to have taken some interest in their fate, but it has not been shown that he did so when he was selecting the subject of *Esther* or that Mme de Maintenon was interested in them at that time. I maintain that my suggestion,<sup>1</sup> which O. (p. 31) rejects, has greater probability: that, if they represent any contemporary persons, they represent the girls who were playing the parts, the protégées of Mme de Maintenon at Saint-Cyr.

For *Athalie* O. renews and extends M. Charlier's proposal<sup>2</sup> that, when Racine composed the tragedy, he had in mind the revolution that had driven James II, his queen, and their son from England and had set William and Mary on the throne. He goes farther than M. Charlier by making *Athalie* a plea, addressed to Louis XIV, to restore the Stuarts, not in the person of James II, but in that of his two-year old son. Now both Ascoli<sup>3</sup> and I<sup>4</sup> have declined to accept Charlier's theory and have found between the tragedy and the events only the general similarity of a revolution involving blood relationships and difference of religion. And I repeat that as, when Racine selected the subject, James II had not been defeated in Ireland, it would have been discourteous to treat him as if he

<sup>1</sup> *History of French Dramatic Literature in the Seventeenth Century*, Part IV, p. 295.

<sup>2</sup> *De Ronsard à Victor Hugo*, Brussels, 1931, pp. 139-166.

<sup>3</sup> *Nouvelles littéraires*, Oct. 10, 1931.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. my *op. cit.*, Part IV, pp. 300-302.

were dead and his son had become heir to his throne. Like Charlier, O. trusts to resemblances in theme, unnoticed by Racine's contemporaries, and is equally unable to establish his contention.

Realizing that the story of David and Absalom would have been much closer to that of James and William, O. declares (p. 54) that the subject was not suited to the theater, ignoring the fact that the *Absalon* of Duché was played often and successfully at the Comédie Française. Wishing to claim that the birth of James's son was no less miraculous than "la préservation de Joas," O. states (p. 58) that "Tous les enfants de Jacques II étaient en effet morts en bas-âge." He forgets Queen Mary, Queen Anne, the Duke of Berwick, the Duke of Albemarle, etc. What is true is that he married for a second time in 1673, that his first four children by that marriage died young, but, as the birth of the fifth child of this marriage took place when he was fifty-four, there was nothing miraculous about it.

There are various details on which I would comment:

P. 8, note 6, for 218 read 298. P. 28, for Sewer read Seiver. P. 29, O. refers to "*Arétaphile et Clitophon*" as if they were one play instead of two. P. 83, note 450, line 4, for 1685, read 1682. P. 101, I have not "soutenu" that Racine got the subject of *Esther* from Du Ryer, I have merely suggested it as a possibility. P. 119, O. accuses me of confusing Campistron's *Phraate* with his *Tiridate*; if he would read Josephus as well as the frères Parfaict, he would see that I could find incest in the tale and that I did not confuse the play with *Tiridate*.

There is, on the other hand, much information in the book. O. is well informed. He knows much about American contributions to the history of French literature. He points out (p. 102) the weakness of M. Jasinski's contention that Racine followed Father Caussin in composing *Esther*. He has valuable appendices in which he discusses Mme de Maintenon's relations with Port Royal, the political arguments drawn by British theologians from the story of Athaliah, and he reproduces the marginal notes found on a copy of *Esther* at Toulouse that indicate many of Racine's Biblical borrowings. The book may not help us to appreciate Racine, but if we appreciate Racine, we must be interested in this latest attempt to make of him a courageous pleader for the persecuted.

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*Molière. A New Criticism.* By W. G. MOORE. Oxford: Clarendon Press [New York: Oxford U. Press, which dates it Feb. 2, 1950], 1949. Pp. 136. \$2.50.

One will look in vain here for an account of Molière's life, his sources, the social conditions under which he wrote, his relations

with the actors of the troupe he headed, the publication or the fortunes of his plays. The author's aim is to concentrate upon the essence of Molière's comedies, to limit himself to the study of Molière's "work in the form in which he left it." Starting with the fact that Molière was an actor, he dwells upon his use of the mask, of physical devices, of the comic element that lies in the sudden removal of the mask, as when *Tartuffe* reveals his real purposes, upon the contrast between what is spoken and what is thought, upon speech that is misdirected, "misheard," incoherent, exaggerated, upon contrasting characters, upon the constant veering from realism to unreality.

He has only scorn for those who seek a moral purpose in Molière's plays. "All such inquiries . . . are a pedantic irrelevance which would have afforded rich enjoyment to the master of comedy whose work they obscure" (p. 115). With this judgment I am not disposed to find fault, as I wrote of Molière in 1936 that his "morality lies in the truth of his pictures and the healing power of his merriment, not in any lesson he is trying to teach." For this I was taken to task by my friend Lebègue in a review of my book and by J. C. Chessex in an article in *MLQ*. I am glad to see the point of view I share defended eloquently by Mr. Moore, but the fact that he does so makes me wonder what he means by "new criticism," the more so as he quotes statements by Lanson, Michaut, Mornet, Jouvét, and others that are in accord with his own.

I think that he follows Lanson too closely in regard to Molière's dependence upon the French and the Italian farce. The dramatist's comic devices are too varied to allow their origins to be simplified in this fashion. On p. 13 he states that Grimarest's 'Life' came out in 1728 and refers to "Fourier" as a student of Molière; the proper date for Grimarest is 1705, the proper name is probably Fournier. On p. 37, when he is seeking in Molière's plays for references to his wife, he might well have referred to the description of the young heroine in the *Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, a role that she created. Mr. Moore admits (p. 127) that he has repeated himself, as of course, one is often obliged to do, but it seems unnecessary to quote the same seven lines from *Tartuffe* on p. 46 and on p. 64. P. 83, he quotes with apparent approval Jouvét's defense of Molière's dénouements as being "de la plus parfaite et de la plus fine convention théâtrale," yet he had written on p. 69 that the dénouement of *l'Ecole des femmes* is brought about by "a fantastic arrival of long-lost parents from overseas." I agree in this case with Mr. Moore rather than with M. Jouvét, but on p. 100 I am unable to follow him when he calls Arnolphe a cuckold, since for such a condition marriage is prerequisite. P. 113, I am surprised that Mr. Moore follows those who have altered Molière's text by making Jourdain say ". . . et tout ce qui n'est point vers est prose" instead of the delightfully absurd ". . . et tout ce qui n'est point vers n'est point prose."

But "Que cela . . . soit dit en passant," for these are small matters. If the point of view is not as novel as the title implies, it is nevertheless an important one to present to many who still write about Molière's "philosophy," instead of seeking to "interpret comedies as comedies and their author as an artist."

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

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*The Reinterpretation of Victorian Literature.* Edited by JOSEPH E. BAKER. Princeton: The Princeton University Press, 1950. Pp. ix + 236. \$3.75.

A reviewer is likely to be predisposed in favor of a book which proclaims to the world some of the same things that he has been saying in his own narrower sphere. *The Reinterpretation of Victorian Literature*, consisting of eleven essays by as many authorities in the field, was assembled by Professor Baker under the auspices of the Victorian Literature group of the MLA. An overtone of satisfaction seems to pervade most of the essays, as though each author had previously suspected himself of being a voice crying in the wilderness and was immensely relieved at finding such doughty reinforcements.

The prevailing theme of the book links it with the current enthusiasm for the history of ideas. Consequently the emphasis is overwhelmingly upon expository and controversial prose. As far as "creative literature" is concerned, the novel rates a single essay, by Bradford A. Booth, and is mentioned in several of the others, though chiefly for its social propaganda rather than for artistic qualities. Drama is barely mentioned; and poetry receives incidental comment in perhaps half the essays and is ignored in the other half.

In contrast, there are extensive essays on historiography, by Richard A. E. Brooks, on biography, by John W. Dodds, and on several specific areas of social and philosophical argument—the Oxford Movement by the late Charles F. Harrold, education and the idea of culture by William S. Knickerbocker, social thought by Emery Neff, and the influence of Burke on Victorian political ideas by Frederick L. Mulhauser. Two essays that range over a wider variety of literary types, but still pay more attention to prose than to poetry, are Karl Litzenberg's on the relations between English and foreign literatures in the Victorian period, and Joseph E. Baker's on the revival of Hellenism. This leaves only two essays, by Howard Mumford Jones and Norman Foerster, which undertake a synoptic view of the period and draw their illustrations from all literary forms. The persistent neglect of poetry and of aesthetic values in general tends to perpetuate one of the miscon-

ceptions of Victorianism which several contributors condemn—that it was an age of solemn and didactic moralizing.

The arrangement of the contributions is open to question. The Foerster and Jones essays might better have come first, as they offer some positive definitions of Victorianism, as well as vigorous forays against the misconceptions of the term that prevailed during the past generation. Mr. Foerster makes a good case for his theory that Victorian literature is chiefly the record of the victory of realism over romanticism. Mr. Jones defends the Victorians from three major libels—that they were intolerant, that they were morally inhibited, and that they were sentimental. Written originally for a semi-popular magazine, this essay is in a less academic style than the others, adding a welcome touch of liveliness but perhaps wasting a prolonged volley of rhetorical questions, since the readers of the present book are unlikely to need so emphatic a stimulus to thought. Its non-scholarly origin probably accounts for several minor inaccuracies in this essay: James Thomson's name is misspelled, Andrew Arcedeckne's comment on Thackeray's first lecture is attributed to Yates, and Meredith is accused of leaving his first wife (instead of *vice versa*).

The essays betray some uncertainty as to how the title and purpose of the volume are to be understood. Three different objectives can be discerned: (a) a review of the assigned topic on the basis of the individual contributor's knowledge and theories, (b) a summary of recent research on the topic, (c) a suggestion of significant aspects that demand further investigation. Some of the essays attempt all three aims, while others confine themselves chiefly to one. Mr. Booth, for instance, valiantly surveys the whole panorama of the Victorian novel in thirty pages; and while his essay contains many stimulating aperçus, it is necessarily hasty and over-simplified. C. F. Harrold's eloquent discussion of the Oxford movement is deeply tintured with his own earnest sincerity, as he insists upon how relevant the Tractarian philosophy could be to present-day problems.

Two or three major opinions emerge repeatedly from various essays. One is this matter of the applicability of Victorian ideas to the contemporary scene, and particularly to America. Another is the necessity of relating Victorian trends of thought with those that were occurring in other countries. A third is the helpful light shed upon Victorian literature by constantly linking it with its context of current events; the Neff and Knickerbocker essays are specially valuable on this point.

The book is full of pregnant comments which both teachers and research students will wish to develop more fully. As these often occur in unexpected spots and as every one of the essays ranges over a wide assortment of authors and topics, the absence of an index is particularly deplorable.

LIONEL STEVENSON

*University of Southern California*



*The Magic Word, Studies in the Nature of Poetry.* By LUDWIG LEWISOHN. New York: Farrar Straus and Company. 1950. Pp. xv, 151. \$2.75.

Chapters II, III, and IV, the main substance of this short book, on Homer, Shakespeare, and Goethe, "are based on . . . theoretical considerations" which are almost sufficiently disclosed in the title of the book and of the first chapter, "The Magic Word." Mr. Lewisohn's discourse is directed against the materialistic view of the world and in defence of creative personality, "religion and poetry, faith and song." One can only be grateful, but one could wish relations among the latter group of ideas somewhat more firmly delineated. Chapter I observes that "words have no discoverable connection with things" (i. e., that they are not essentially imitative, but freely symbolic, as the two terms *dog* and *canis* will illustrate); from which (it seems to follow) all language, and especially poetry, is "nonconceptual," incantatory, magical. At the same time, poetry is mythopoeic, expressing "the realities of the soul," all that the poet "believes concerning life and love and death, . . . man and God." The vague kind of nexus which one may detect between these propositions is reflected, no doubt, from the symbolist, Freudian, and anthropological sources of the chapter, but the process of reflection has been scarcely a step toward clarification. A curious feature of the book is the author's apparent lack of concern about the work of certain masters. Neither Cassirer nor Croce, for instance, is mentioned. And in the Introduction we find the preposterous question: "Is it not strange . . . that no one apparently has sought the secret of the character of literature . . . in the nature of language itself and as such?"

The three chapters of practical demonstration consist each of a biographical flourish, then a critical assertion—the connection between the two more or less discernible. Homer's epics have the unity of spirit which shows that they were written by one poet, not a crowd of redactors; Homer's poetry is a glorious fictitious vision of an heroic age, the morning of the world, fresh and dewy. Shakespeare was an uncomfortable rebel in an unsettled age, a man of passion and imagination all compact; his plays are dramaturgically inept farragoes of incident, redeemed by "purple patches . . . the most dazzling ever uttered by mortal lips." He was not a thinker and had no great sense of dramatic form. He triumphed despite "puerile devices" and "untenable ethical assumptions." Goethe was not, what Valéry once called him, a "*Jupiter d'ivoire et d'or*," nor, as an ignorant American in the *Nation* echoed it, a "stuffed shirt"; he was a great sage, the last of the poets who has been able to put a great and universal meaning in a great form proceeding from a great faith. That meaning (the meaning too of Mr. Lewisohn's book) is the freedom of the human personality,

reshaping nature in its own image. The chapter on Homer seems to me the best; I like the spirited, though I suspect not very original, attack on Wolf's *Prolegomena* and the assertion of Homer's personality. In the Goethe chapter there are some good things, especially, I should say, though I am not acquainted with this area of criticism, the remarks about Goethe's use of the eighteenth-century forms of elegance and balance. The worst chapter must be that on Shakespeare, a monstrous alliance of Voltaire and Frank Harris, reviving a hoary and fraudulent antithesis—"His genius was boundless; his judgment was small"—and wobbling uncertainly between attempts to explain Shakespeare's plays by his life and his life by his plays.

W. K. WIMSATT, JR.

Yale University

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*The Permanence of Yeats, Selected Criticism.* Edited by JAMES HALL and MARTIN STEINMAN. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1950, pp. 414. \$5.00.

This book contains twenty-four essays on Yeats, with a prefatory essay by the editors and a bibliography. Twelve of the essays have previously been published in book form, and twelve have been rescued from the reviews. Edmund Wilson's essay from *Axel's Castle* (1930) is the earliest in point of time to be included here, and stands at the head of almost all the succeeding lines of investigation.

Despite the excellence of the majority of the individual essays, the overall effect of the book, to this reader at least, is bewildering. The book is not a devotional manual for the novice, but dialectic practice for the hardened theologian. The editors, in their prefatory essay, note the main problem in Yeats criticism (the relation of the poetry to the ideas behind it); they can offer little more than a suggestion that the sources of Yeats' thought are often more respectable than he would have liked us to suppose. In a small way the editors themselves contribute to the confusion: no apparent order in the arrangement of the essays; an inadequate table of contents; no index of the works discussed.

A few of these essays are on special topics, with their own special pleasures. Eric Bentley writes a brilliant account of Yeats' dramaturgy; A. Norman Jeffares presents some samples of Yeats' textual revisions; Donald Davidson is concerned with the relation in Yeats' poems between "high art" and "popular lore." But there is a point to which the other essays, more concerned with general appraisal, return again and again: the relation between the magnificent poems from *The Tower* and *The Winding Stair* and the complex symbolic system in Yeats' major prose work, *A Vision*.

Here chaos rules. R. P. Blackmur and Elder Olson occupy polar positions in the discussion of "Sailing to Byzantium," a key poem. Their essays suggest antithetical principle and practice: is a poem a thing-in-itself or a thing in relation to other things? If the former alone, the problem of *A Vision* is no problem at all.

*Mr. Olson:* Byzantium is not a place upon the map, but a term in the poem.

*Mr. Blackmur:* Byzantium represents both a dated epoch and a recurrent state of mind.

*Mr. Olson:* If the basic terms of a lyric poem do not receive their meanings from the chance associations of the reader, neither do they have their dictionary meanings; like terms in most discourse, they take their significance from their context.

*Mr. Blackmur:* Poetry is so little autonomous from a technical point of view that the greater part of a given work may be conceived as the manipulation of conventions that the reader will, or will not, take for granted.

Mr. Olson's insistence that internal relations alone are the genesis of significance in a poem leads him into a speculative *cul de sac*. His reading of "Sailing to Byzantium" is formally skillful, and makes an interesting experiment, but is murderous in limiting the kinds of interest a reader is permitted to have. The more suggestive essays here adopt a middle ground between Mr. Blackmur and Mr. Olson, or vacillate unsteadily between them. Kenneth Burke's essay, a product of his 'grammar of motives,' sees Yeats' antitheses as aspects of the dialectical pair of merger and division. Mr. Burke's speculative and ingenious mind carries him down several strange alleys (he is not comfortable in his Freudian readings) but it is generous and expansive. I found Cleanth Brooks' essay, on the other hand, disappointing; his method—a painstaking exegesis of the mythical substratum of the poems—is not as suitable here as in his fine essay on *The Waste Land*.

It is in Mr. Burke's expansive essay that one may feel the book to be vigorous and purposeful, as in the essays of Allen Tate, John Crowe Ransom, Arthur Mizener and Morton Dauwen Zabel. These essays (I do not have space for the dissenting opinions of F. R. Leavis and D. S. Savage) are rich in suggestion, without underestimating the difficulties of such a subtle body of poetry. I like Allen Tate's remark: "The lesser poets invite the pride of the critic to its own affirmation; the greater poets—and Yeats is among them—ask us to understand not only their minds but our own."

THOMAS RIGGS, JR.

Princeton, New Jersey

*The Paradox of Oscar Wilde.* By GEORGE WOODCOCK. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1950. Pp. 250. \$3.50.

Said Oscar, "To turn truth into a paradox is not difficult, but George Meredith makes all his paradoxes truths, and no Theseus can thread his labyrinth, no Oedipus solve his secret."

Mr. Woodcock's "really balanced judgement" of the work and significance of Oscar Wilde is the earnest attempt of a somewhat bewildered neighbor to explain his admiration for the peculiar genius in the next house. Having read the latest books, he finds that Wilde was both schizoid and a living symbol of his favorite rhetorical device, the paradox. He discusses the influences which shaped Wilde's personality (and these, it seems, are not merely all the major figures of the nineteenth century, several pagan philosophers and Church Fathers, but also the alchemists, the Taoists, and the Reverend Charles Maturin), then exhibits the paradoxes he has discovered: Wilde is pagan and Christian, aesthetic clown and creative critic, a rebel against the society he ornamented, a playboy and a prophet. In a final chapter he attempts to make all his paradoxes truths, and concludes that *the* truth about Wilde lies in his belief in the free development of the individual.

The multiplicity of biographies and the paucity of critical studies suggests that Wilde's major achievement as an artist was his life, though Mr. Woodcock makes a valiant attempt to resolve the paradoxes in Wilde's writings by finding in them a common theme, the doctrine and practice of individualism. But to call a contradiction a paradox is not to explain it, and to find the source of the contradictions in anarchy calls for a rather free-hand retouching of Wilde's self-portrait, the most careful work of his career.

To take one instance, Wilde's celebrated comedies are spotty performances and it is wilful of Mr. Woodcock to exaggerate either their seriousness as consistent social criticism, or their influence on the later development of the English drama. Even *The Importance of Being Earnest*, his masterpiece, had been anticipated as a topsyturvy social commentary by W. S. Gilbert's *Engaged*, and it is surely Gilbert's style and not Wilde's that is recognizable in Shaw. Wilde's melodramatic-farcical-problem plays were meant to appear as the by-products of gentlemanly wit, like the comedies of Etheredge, and his reckless scattering of his royalties contributed to his self-portrait of the "intellectual gentleman" setting little store by a success that cost so little effort.

There is, it is true, a considerable disparity between the self-portrait and the portrait drawn by his friends, but that which is more sympathetic is not necessarily more true. And some of the later testimony is suspect. Is there any evidence to show that Dion Boucicault, who described Wilde as "noble, earnest, kind and lovable," knew anything about human nature? And is there not

sufficient evidence to show that Wilde himself was deliberately contradictory, that he used paradox not so much for rhetorical effect but as a trade mark? A friend asked what he meant by a particularly outlandish eccentricity. Said Oscar, "Nothing whatever, but that is just what nobody will guess."

ALAN S. DOWNER

*Princeton University*

*James Thomson (B. V.). A Critical Study.* By I. B. WALKER.  
Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1950. Pp. 200.

A perfectly adequate biography of James Thomson by H. S. Salt appeared in 1889, with a sensible critical account of his work. A memoir by his friend and publisher Dobell was prefixed to his collected poems in 1895. These were re-hashed by J. E. Meeker in 1917, on the pretext that Salt's biography "had become almost unobtainable," though in fact it was reprinted in 1914. And there is a modern critical essay by Edmund Blunden in his edition of "The City of Dreadful Night," of 1932. No new information about Thomson has come to light, and the status of his poetry is surely well enough agreed. The need for another book on him hardly seems pressing.

Miss Imogene Walker describes her book as a critical study, inspired by disappointment at previous treatments of Thomson's life and work. It is difficult to see what she supposes herself to have added. Thomson was a minor poet, though one of real integrity, who succeeded in finding a few powerful images for the embodiment of a sombre and limited mood. Technically his writing is derivative and very uneven. A technical critic might, if he thought it worth the trouble, find innumerable links between Thomson's verse and that of Shelley, Browning, Tennyson, Swinburne and Rossetti, besides the influence of Dante and Leopardi. He might even find, I suspect, that some of the apparent Rossettiian echoes occurred before Thomson could have known Rossetti's work. There is certainly an emotional pattern—abiding grief over a dead love, relieved by narcotics—common to both of them; and it sometimes seems to blossom quite naturally into similar verbal effects. Starting perhaps from this point, a psychological critic might without great difficulty discover the source of Thomson's obsessive melancholia.

But Miss Walker does not take us far in either of these directions. She is only faintly aware of the rest of nineteenth century poetry, and is under the impression that Leopardi was a philosopher. She therefore does little to clear up Thomson's literary affiliations. And her gesture towards psychological interpretation is so slight that it were almost better left unmade. She gives descriptive

accounts of much of the poetry, with little effort at exposition or judgment. However, she does make a thorough attempt to relate Thomson's poems to the events of his life; and she has examined the MS diaries for herself (though, to be sure, they were used by his first biographer). She also adds a very full bibliography, in which those who wish to trace Thomson's contributions to *The National Reformer* and *Cope's Tobacco Plant* will find their curiosity amply satisfied.

GRAHAM HOUGH

*The Johns Hopkins University*

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*Whitman's American Fame: The Growth of His Reputation in America after 1892.* By CHARLES B. WILLARD. Providence: Brown University, 1950. Pp. 269. (Brown University Studies, vol. XII, Americana Series No. 3.) \$4.00.

This is the first comprehensive survey of Walt Whitman's reception, influence, and reputation in the United States. Although it does not fundamentally change the generalizations found in the majority of our literary histories, anthologies, and biographical or critical books on Whitman, it documents those conclusions and adds a considerable number of items to Whitman bibliography. On the whole the author has written a thorough and reliable account of his subject, but in spots the research has been inadequate and the judgment is questionable.

Mr. Willard has used primarily the fine collection of material assembled by Henry S. Saunders, now in the John Hay Library at Brown University. He discusses, in order, the contributions of Whitman's personal friends, the journalists, the scholars, the creative writers, and the critics in general. This organization gives a readable interpretation, but it prevents the author from sufficiently emphasizing the stages in the growth of Whitman's fame. In fact, the book gives little indication that the poet's reputation has approached a near-crisis in recent years. Whitman's admission to the Hall of Fame stands as the climax and conclusion of the book—hardly an indication of his true national reputation, and besides it took place in 1931.

Sometimes Mr. Willard does not understand his facts. He wonders why I called (*Walt Whitman Handbook*) Harrison S. Morris's *Walt Whitman: A Brief Biography with Reminiscences* "the last word from the cult." He remarks, "Actually Morris's book, written in 1918, had appeared in Italy in 1920." True, but *actually* Morris was a resident of Philadelphia, a friend and correspondent of W. S. Kennedy and other "hot little prophets," and his book was a personal tribute.

Mr. Willard is quite right, however, when he points out my



omission of Hart Crane and Ezra Pound among the poets who have been directly influenced by Whitman. Failing to include Crane was an unfortunate oversight, and since publishing my book I have found an unpublished manuscript (not mentioned by Mr. Willard) in the Van Sinderen Collection at Yale in which Pound acknowledged the influence of Whitman on him. The whole question of Whitman's influence on American writers needs to be re-examined, and Mr. Willard's study may provide needed stimulation.

The weakest section in this book is the one paragraph discussion of Whitman's influence on musicians. Even this one paragraph is full of errors: Vaughan Williams is an English, not American, composer; the "near four hundred" compositions based on Whitman's poems includes the total number, not just American; and it is certainly an exaggeration to say that "Several times yearly the leading American symphony orchestras play Whitman music." Despite the latter exaggeration, Whitman has had far greater direct influence on composers than on writers. To mention a few (either American or now living in the United States), there is William Schuman, who won a Pulitzer Prize with a Whitman composition; Roy Harris, *Symphony for Voices*; Paul Hindemith, *Lilacs Last . . .* and other compositions; George Kleinsinger, *I Hear America Singing*, recorded for Victor by John Charles Thomas; Charles Ives, Philip James, and many others. Whitman's reception by American composers should have been the subject of a whole chapter in Mr. Willard's thesis, and it might have been his most valuable one, for the musicians are one group of American artists who have affectionately absorbed Walt Whitman.

GAY WILSON ALLEN

New York University

### BRIEF MENTION

*Schiller*. Von MELITTA GERHARD. Bern, A. Francke A. G. Verlag, 1950. Pp. 455. SFr. 15.80. There cannot be any doubt that Melitta Gerhard's book ranks among the best in the literature on Schiller. With minute care the author examined and evaluated all available documents referring to Schiller's life, personality and works, and welded them together in such a way that one never feels bored by philological details. She penetrates to the mainsprings of Schiller's thoughts and their expression in essayistic and poetic form. Taking the *Briefe über die ästhetische Erziehung* as the best presentation of Schiller's ideas and ideals, the author orientates her study towards this work, thus achieving a remarkable unity. With sensitivity and solid knowledge of eighteenth century thought, she clearly distinguishes between the influence of rational enlightenment

and genuine personal experience in the conception as well as in the style of Schiller's work. Not infrequently however the point of personal experience, or rather its absence, is stressed to such an extent that the reader may receive an almost negative impression of Schiller's significance, in spite of the high respect the author pays to Schiller's contribution to the education of man to ideal self-realization. The discussion of Schiller's poems and dramas is kept entirely within the general framework of the distinction between more or less abstract thought and personal experience and its effect on their esthetic value, without any detailed analysis of characters and problems. Yet these remarks are meant to be more as a description of the book than as a criticism. Within the self-imposed limits, the author can only be commended for the thoroughly scholarly approach to a difficult task.

F. W. KAUFMANN

Oberlin College  
Oberlin, Ohio

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*Geschichtliche deutsche Lautlehre*, von HEINRICH EHLINGER 2. durchgesehene Auflage. München: Max Hueber Verlag, 1950. Pp. 42. DM2.50. This is an excellent summary of historical German phonology from I. E. to New High German. It is plainly intended for review purposes but the compact clear arrangement, the well-chosen examples will make it useful to student and teacher alike when memory fails. Only the most positive results of research are noted. This no doubt explains the extremely conservative dating in § 56 of the change of impure *s* to the palatal spirant in MHG. Initially (*scheiden*) and finally (*tisch*) this was surely complete in the twelfth century as the early eleventh century spelling *sg* (Notker) shows the change in process. But conservatism is a merit in a handbook. Ehlinger might have added a note to § 34 f. calling the student's attention to the confusion in the use of the term *umlaut*, pointing out that the OHG u-umlaut (*hilpu*) is properly a palatalization and not a true u-umlaut (rounding) as in Old Norse. The scant bibliography on the last page is entirely adequate for such a booklet. The proofreading has been painstaking. It is a very useful addition to our review materials.

TAYLOR STARCK

Harvard University

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*Voltaire et le théâtre anglais*. Par HENNING FENGER. Copenhagen: Glyndendal, 1949 [Nov. 2, 1950]. (*Orbis Litterarum*, VII, 161-287). The author admits that Voltaire was primarily a disciple of Corneille, Molière, and Racine, but he claims that, when he departs from their usage, he is following English dramatists,

not so much Shakespeare, as Dryden, Rowe, Lillo, etc. It is impossible to establish this contention without knowing more than F. does about the French theater. For instance, he has apparently never read Mlle Bernard's *Brutus*, which, rather than Lee's, influenced Voltaire's, or *Inès de Castro*, a most popular sentimental tragedy of 1723, one that Voltaire knew long before he composed *Zaire* and that may, better than Fenton's *Mariamne*, explain why, in the first version of V.'s *Mariamne*, the heroine dies of poison. The only definite evidence of verbal similarity that F. produces is the passage from Rowe that finds an echo in *Alzire*. This is given (p. 372) as if it were F.'s discovery, although it was pointed out by La Place two hundred years ago. In short, I have found nothing in this publication to make me think that greater English influence was exerted upon V. than what I recognized in reviewing T. W. Russell's book (*MLN*, LXII (1947), 492-95) or in my *History of French Tragedy in the Time of Louis XV and Voltaire*, a work that came out in January, 1950, too late for F. to have consulted it. His work would be, if not convincing, at least more pleasing if it were written in better French<sup>1</sup> and the pamphlet were more correctly printed.<sup>2</sup>

H. C. L.

*The Parisian Stage. Alphabetical Indexes of Plays and Authors. Part I (1800-1815).* By CHARLES BEAUMONT WICKS. University, Ala: University of Ala. Press, 1950. Pp. vi + 89. \$2.00. (University of Ala. Studies, 6.) This work consists of brief introductory material and two lists, the first of which names plays and operas performed for the first time in a public Parisian theater in one of the years 1800-1815, while the second gives alphabetically the names of the authors. In the first list W. gives the title and, if there is one, the sub-title of each play or opera, the author's name or names, the genre, the number of acts, and states whether the composition is in verse or in prose, where it was first played, and at what theater. The second list refers to the pages on which each of an author's plays is mentioned. The information is derived primarily from the *Journal des Débats* and the *Moniteur universel* of the years with which the book is concerned. The *Almanach des Spectacles*, the *Bibliothèque dramatique de M. de*

<sup>1</sup>*Drame* is frequently used in the sense of *play*; *tendance* in a sense that would with difficulty be guessed if F. did not define it (p. 263) as *contenu idéologique*. I find, too, such slips as "tout cela ne sont que suppositions" (p. 169), "rhétorique" as an adjective (p. 187), "deux soi-disantes réminiscences" (p. 211), "domestic-patetic" (p. 222), "supporté le poète" (p. 246, for "soutenu"), "pour Dieu sait quelle fois" (p. 250).

<sup>2</sup>The last line on p. 225 is out of place; it should be the tenth on p. 226. I find (p. 239) Haven, (pp. 170, 178, etc.) Russel, (p. 204) Calprenède, (p. 254) un personne, (pp. 256-57) les Schytes, (p. 265) un Mérope.

*Soleinne, Joannidès's Comédie-Française*, and some other books have also been examined. The work has been done with great care and is excellently printed. The only error I have detected is that of *Pinton* for *Pinto* on p. 60. A copy should be in every library that has readers who are interested in the French stage of the early nineteenth century. Dr. Wicks announces that he is preparing a second part, which is to include the plays of 1816-1830.

H. C. L.

*A Calendar of British Taste from 1600 to 1800, Being a Museum of Specimens & Landmarks Chronologically Arranged.* By E. F. CARRITT. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1949. Pp. xiv + 476. This volume, made up of brief extracts from a wide variety of sources, should not be overlooked by students of seventeenth and eighteenth-century literature, gardening, painting, architecture, and manners, since a number of the passages will not be familiar, others will have been forgotten, and those that are remembered will often take on new significance and freshness when separated from their contexts. Excellent indexes contribute to the usefulness of the volume for the historian of ideas, of taste, and of criticism.

R. D. H.

## CORRESPONDENCE

BULWER'S PAUL CLIFFORD AGAIN. Further information enables me to correct my note, "Who Suggested the Plan for Bulwer's *Paul Clifford*?" in *MLN* LXIII (November, 1948), 489-91. In it I pointed out that the plan could not, as biographers had said, have been proposed by William Godwin. So much was right. I now find, however, that the maker of the suggestion was not Thomas Campbell, whose name I offered as a reasonable speculation, but William Jerdan, likewise of Scottish birth, editor of the *Literary Gazette*. In his *Autobiography* (London, 1853), iv, 195-6, Jerdan claims the idea of using *Beggar's Opera* characters and prints a short letter from Bulwer about the matter. Bulwer's taking of real persons for the novel goes beyond and contrary to what Jerdan proposed.

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